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ABSTRACT

University extension arose in England during the late 1860s as an adult education movement providing university-style education for all people. In the United States in the 1880s, university extension was only the latest in a series of ventures in schooling for adults. Adult education had existed in the colonial period, but the first widespread movement of schooling for adults was the lyceum, imported from England during the Jacksonian era. U.S. extension leaders could draw on a diverse background of adult education movements and emphasize either the practical training of colonial night schools or the cultural Chautauqua reading model. During the years 1890-1891, citizens of Philadelphia developed a powerful organization which controlled extension in the Middle Atlantic States. However, the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching failed to nationalize extension. In Wisconsin and Chicago, university extension sprang from a university and not an independent society. Kansas also experimented successfully with extension in the 1890s. Between 1892 and 1899, extension organized stable societies in Chicago, Wisconsin, and Philadelphia. At the turn of the century, U.S. education underwent significant alterations in theory and practice. The reform viewpoints of extension people became directed at urban problems. With the decline of the English system after 1900, university extension underwent a reorientation and served a useful role in developing the concept of education as leisure-time activity. (Contains 215 references.) (YLB)

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UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

1885-1915

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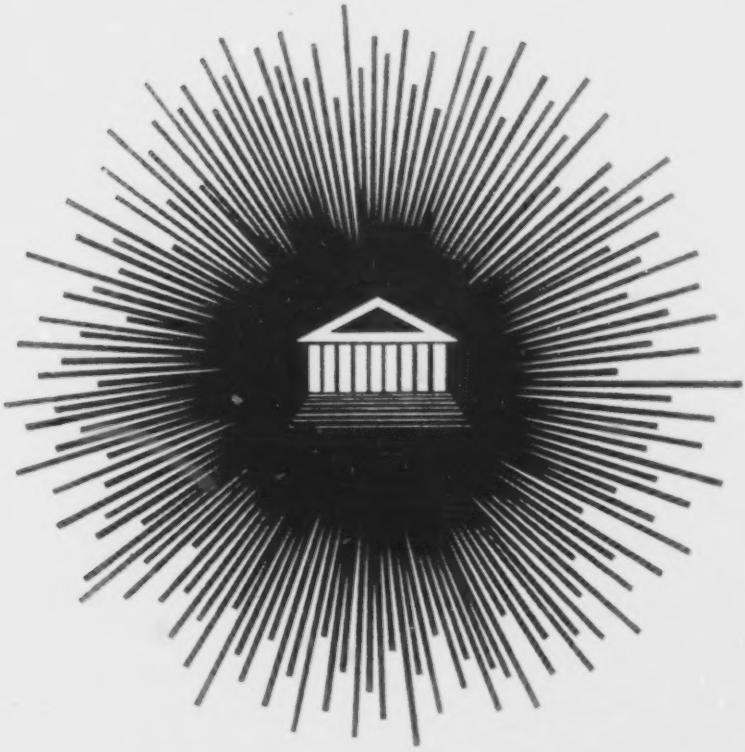
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The Early Years in the United States

1885-1915



By **George M. Woytanowitz,** *Boston College*

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INTRODUCTION

University extension arose in England during the late 1860s as an adult education movement providing, by means of itinerant lecturers, university-style education for all the people, but especially for middle-class women and the laboring poor. It spread to the United States in the 1880s, and in the following decade became an important educational movement under the aegis of leading American academicians. It grew both through extension divisions of universities and through independent societies which hired university professors as lecturers. By the late 1890s, however, the middle class, which had provided the majority of extension students, had developed new interests, and efforts to reach workingmen had admittedly failed. Meanwhile, the new university culture—emphasizing research, publication, institutional development, and graduate training—did not provide rewards for those who did extension lecturing. By 1910, most extension organizations were dead or dormant. But at the same time, a new type of extension appeared at the state universities, most prominently at the University of Wisconsin, and in 1915, a meeting of extension administrators organized the National University Extension Association. In less than 30 years, extension had grown from a one-shot experiment in public libraries to a large university division, and in the process it was transformed from an English system to one fully American.

A study of the origins and early years of extension in the United States poses questions about educational and social impact. First, about the nature of extension: how did it differ from other varieties of adult education, such as correspondence schools, public lectures, home reading societies, the lyceum, and Chautauqua, so familiar in 19th-century America? Why did extension enjoy a brief period of popularity followed by a slow decline? If adult education can be described as a continuum which includes a wide range of education formats, from individual lectures on popular topics to off-campus university credit courses, where on this continuum does extension lie?

Because of the diversity of forms which the movement took, defining extension is no easy matter. Extension forms, moreover, are inseparable from issues of origin. Was the independent extension society created because universities failed to lead the movement? Was independent extension doomed when universities finally began to organize their own extension divisions? How did these different organizational frameworks produce differing results in terms of course content, quality, and quantity?

Still more questions are inherent in the relationship between university culture in late 19th-century America and university extension. Recently, historians such as Richard Storr and Lawrence Veysey have examined this academic environment, but have largely ignored the role of extension, or have dismissed it as a means by which the universities kept in contact with the people. Was there, in fact, a symbiosis between extension leaders and the men who were important in organizing new graduate institutions, or in revitalizing old universities, or the men who made up the first generation of German-trained faculty? Did extension men have a serious commitment to the service conception of the university, or did they see extension as a means of professional advancement, or of support for the financial demands which universities made on state legislatures and on private philanthropists? Was it an accident that professors who were active extension lecturers generally held more liberal social views than their colleagues who ignored or criticized extension? How did professors, interested in both extension and personal advancement, balance the contending demands on their time? Could university administrators ignore the contention of tuition-paying students that extension classes produced tardy, bleary eyed, or even absent teachers?

How does extension fit into the American educational scene? The late 19th century was a period of intense ferment, as new institutions were added to the school system. The graduate school, kindergarten, and extension were imported from Europe, and changes in the collegiate curriculum brought about professional, commercial, and scientific education. The high school evolved out of older secondary institutions, shaped in the minds of university men who were concerned about the preparation of their freshmen. Joseph Rice, John Dewey, and G. Stanley Hall proposed sweeping reform of the elementary schools. Of all the educational innovations, university extension was the least successful in winning acceptance from either educational leaders or the interested public. Was this because it was an English import which would not or could not be adapted to the American scene? Or because universities failed to promote extension sufficiently? Or because extension was inadequately financed?

Then, there is the relationship between extension and other adult education programs. Why was there constant conflict between Chautauqua and extension leaders, while at the same time free public lectures were heartily endorsed? Extension leaders should have been aware that free public lectures undermined the extension market.

These questions throw light on the educational priorities of late 19th-century America, and through these educational priorities, on social priorities. Was extension a status-oriented hunger for culture among the middle class? A response of the university to the fear of class warfare in the turbulent and not-so-gay nineties? A respectable vocational outlet for

college graduates unable to locate teaching positions immediately? A safety valve for the religious concern of young men who could have become foreign or domestic missionaries? A sincere effort of university men and their middle class backers to provide quality education for the laborer, the poor, and the immigrant? Or, a device by which the middle class sought to stamp out potentially radical ideas. For the client, was extension an evening's entertainment, a social need, a means of upward mobility, or a brief escape from the slum?

Similar educational and social viewpoints developed among those involved in the extension movement as administrators, lecturers, or students. Were these persons moderate on questions of strikes and labor violence, strongly Anglophile, and antisectarian, *because* they were active in extension? Did a coherent social outlook influence extension experience, and, if so, what was that outlook and how did it differ from other contemporary perspectives? What drove extension leaders to seek out the laboring poor? Can their failure with the poor be attributed to a communications gap between students and professors, to the erudite subject matter of most extension courses, or rather to the area location of extension courses?

Men like Edmund J. James saw the extension movement as a means of personal cultivation at the end of the business day, leisure-time activity. The overwhelming majority of extension students were attracted to courses by a basic curiosity about the subject matter. Thus, extension was one of the few adult education agencies which was not strictly utilitarian.

ENGLISH UNIVERSITY EXTENSION BACKGROUND

Despite the well-intentioned effort of Herbert Baxter Adams to trace American antecedents back to Benjamin Silliman of Yale, university extension, as understood in the years 1885-1915, was an English import which American educators had borrowed openly and with the full cooperation of their English counterparts.[1] An understanding of American university extension at the turn of the century depends, therefore, upon a knowledge of English extension.

English adult education goes back to the 18th-century Wesleyan movement within the Anglican Church, which led to efforts to teach elementary skills to working people. The goal was more religious than educational: salvation through Scripture and Catechism. Instruction was unsystematic, and many of these efforts became religious Sunday Schools.[2]

Early attempts at schooling for adults were aimed at the growing class of workers created by the Industrial Revolution. By the 1820s there was intense worker social dissatisfaction, and in this atmosphere Dr. George Birkbeck and Lord Brougham launched another venture in adult education, mechanics' institutes which provided both vocational and cultural education. Such an institute usually owned a small library which was available to its members, as well as scientific instruments and a collection of rocks and minerals. Institutes sought to make their members better practitioners of their trades and more knowledgeable men,[3] but

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[1]Herbert Baxter Adams, "American Pioneers of University Extension," *Educational Review* 2 (October 1891), 220-230.

[2]C. Hartley Grattan, *In Quest of Knowledge: An Historical Perspective on Adult Education* (New York: Association Press, 1955), p. 65.

[3]Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 6-8; Lord Playfair, "The Evolution of University Extension as a Part of Popular Education," in Robert D. Roberts (Ed.), *Aspects of Modern Study: University Extension Addresses* (London: Macmillan, 1894), pp. 5-6; Herbert Baxter Adams, "University Extension in Great Britain," in United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1898-1899* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 968-974.

much of their work was entertaining rather than instructive. What instruction they did give consisted of scattered lectures. The first American institute, with significant alterations from the English model, was founded in 1826.[4]

Another early form of adult schooling was the Workingmen's College founded by Frederick Denison Maurice in London in 1854. It was an expanded version of a mechanics' institute, with facilities available for workingmen who sought intellectual improvement in their leisure time. Although the religious motive had not been prominent in the institutes, Maurice believed in a more socialized Christianity, and his religious beliefs figured largely in the founding of Workingmen's College.[5]

The early forms of English adult education were carried on by voluntary societies, independent of the government or of existing educational institutions. While the Industrial Revolution reshaped English society and economy, and the Wesleyan evangelicals renewed the state church, the universities remained isolated behind visible bars of religious or sexual admission tests, and behind equally powerful, invisible bars of social caste. The rising industrial and commercial classes and the sons of the evangelicals had not been reconciled to the universities, and the two schools Cambridge and Oxford were targets for increasing criticism. The dissatisfied viewed the universities as more important socially than intellectually: the twin summits of an educational system which trained the small percentage of the English nation that counted in government and society. Members of this circle revered "Oxbridge," while outsiders despised or ignored it. If the universities were to play a significant role in adult education, the barriers which isolated them from society would have to disappear.[6]

Reform swept through the universities after the mid-19th century. The abandonment of religious tests opened university doors to Dissenters, many of whom were members or sons of members of the commercial and industrial elite. The monopoly on higher education enjoyed by Oxford and Cambridge ended, as new institutions appeared in Durham, Leeds, and Bristol. Although these new schools would never be able to match the social or intellectual prestige of the older ones, they provided quality higher

[4]On Mechanics' Institutes in the United States, see below.

[5]Adams, "University Extension in Great Britain," Chapter II, pp. 974-980.

[6]John P. C. Roach, "Victorian Universities and the National Intelligentsia," *Victorian Studies* 3 (1959), 131-150; Thomas Adams, "University Extension in Canada and England," *University Extension* 1(May 1892), 337-343; Thomas Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962), p. 216.

education, especially in the sciences and the practical arts, and ultimately developed into the English equivalent of the land grant college.[7] Finally, new social concerns influenced the students in the older universities, turning many to social work in settlement houses or in university extension.

English university extension did not begin at one of the newer colleges, as might have been expected, but at Cambridge. In 1867, James Stuart, who had come to Cambridge from Scotland as a fellow in Trinity College, was asked, by a group of women to deliver a series of lectures. The course was so successful that in the same year he gave four more courses to women, laborers, and members of a cooperative. Six years of experimentation took place before Cambridge officials recognized and sponsored Stuart's work. During this time he had developed the standardized procedures which characterized university extension for the next 50 years: lecture, syllabus, paper work, discussion, and examination.[8]

As Stuart travelled and lectured, several things particularly impressed him. He felt that he had discovered a widespread desire for some form of popular higher education. This belief became one of the axioms of university extension in both England and the United States, a belief that died slowly, even when overwhelming evidence indicated the apathy of the masses. Stuart's early efforts also convinced him that extension work could be successful only if it were connected with either Oxford or Cambridge. Despite their outward manifestations of dissatisfaction, the English still felt that higher education must in some way be connected to the universities. The connection need not mean control, but it meant that, at least, the extension lecturer must be a university professor or fellow. University men like Stuart recognized the hostile public attitude and viewed extension as a means of redeeming the universities in the face of widespread criticism. Finally, Stuart was confident of the success of extension, for he observed that English women, perhaps more educationally deprived than American women, flocked to his afternoon courses. When a scattering of workingmen, a few businessmen, lawyers, ministers, and teachers were added to this nucleus, a stable audience, able to afford the classes, was guaranteed.[9]

In 1871 Stuart submitted the results of his years as lecturer to the Cambridge officials, and in 1873 the university appointed a committee to organize and superintend classes held away from the campus. The original

[7] Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, pp. 217-218.

[8] Ibid., pp. 219-221; James Stuart, *Reminiscences* (London: By the author, 1911), pp. 157-167; James Stuart, "The Origin of University Extension," *University Extension* 3 (July 1893), 1-3.

[9] Stuart, "The Origin of University Extension," 2; Stuart, *Reminiscences*, p. 168.

medieval name, "Non-Gremial Students' Syndicate," was quickly replaced by the more popular title, "University Extension," and within two years members of the university were offering over 100 courses. In 1876 the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, which later became London University, was formed in cooperation with the various educational agencies. The extension work begun at Oxford in 1878, became significant after 1885, when Michael Sadler became director of the extension program[10]

Statistics of course attendance attest to the phenomenal popularity of extension work. By 1875 Cambridge enrolled 17,000 students in extension courses. London responded to extension more slowly; but while the students numbered only 3,000 in 1883, this number doubled in 1887, and there were four times as many students by 1889. In 1885, after seven years of extension in Oxford, only 3,000 students attended extension lectures; but after two years of Sadler's secretaryship, over 13,000 students participated. This number grew to 17,000 by 1889. In that year 45,000 students attended extension courses in England.[11] There was little institutional competition: Cambridge concentrated on the eastern part of England, and Oxford on the western, while the London Society organized in the capital city.[12]

The organization or government of university extension was federal. The university syndicate, or London Society, filled certain functions: allotment and certification of lecturers, arrangement of lecture circuits, and advertisement of extension work. The success of extension depended heavily on the ability of the administrator directing affairs from the central office in Oxford, Cambridge, or London. It was the good fortune of the movement to have as administrators such men as Robert D. Roberts, Michael Sadler, and Halford J. Mackinder, all thoroughly committed to their work in both theory and practice.

The directors of extension did not envision any organization between the syndicate and the local center. However, the demand for greater sequence in courses led to the creation of several district associations—unions of local centers in a particular area—which attempted to coordinate courses.[13]

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[10]Stuart, *Reminiscences*, pp. 169-170; Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, pp. 222-223.

[11]Robert D. Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), pp. 96, 100, 102.

[12]Robert A. Woods, *English Social Movements* (New York: Charles Scribners, 1891), p. 122. See Map in Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, p. 99.

[13]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 74, 76-78; Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, pp. 230-232.

The heart of university extension remained the local center. It was the belief of extension leaders that other groups could easily add extension to their own calendars of activities; thus, labor unions, cooperatives, women's groups, and social clubs formed local centers. University extension was the perfect mixer, interfering with no other activity of an organization.[14]

The financial success or failure of a course depended completely on the organizational and promotional ability of local leaders, and on the popularity of the subject matter. An extensive handbill and newspaper campaign preceded the extension courses in any locality, and leading citizens signed statements attesting to the benefits of extension. Campaigns concluded when a widely known lecturer, such as Richard G. Moulton or W. Hudson Shaw, delivered a popular address, which was followed by a description of the extension system. This popular lecture was, in fact, deceptive; at the conclusion, individuals were asked to pledge funds to underwrite a course.[15]

Despite Moulton's statement that "university extension *ought* not to pay for itself," the officers of the local center quickly realized that the center must pay the lecturer's fees and transportation costs, as well as printing and advertising fees.[16] Estimates of the cost of the average course varied from 35 to 70 pounds. If the latter figure is correct, and if attendance averaged 100 persons per lecture, then the cost per course would have been 10 shillings, 6 pence per person, or the equivalent of $2.60, a price prohibitive for nearly all working class persons. Consequently, leaders tried a number of methods for reducing costs. For example, middle class women paid inflated prices for afternoon lectures, which permitted lower prices to be charged for evening classes. And again, economy of time became the chief factor in the preparation of lecturers' schedules, and railroads provided special evening fares for both lecturers and students.

The search for funds extended to outside sources. Wealthy individuals donated monies which local centers used either to underwrite courses or to provide scholarships for poor students. In London, the Gilchrist Trust, a private educational endowment, supported extension activities.[17] One

[14]J. T. Taylor, "Co-operation in Relation to the University Extension Movement in Great Britain," *Citizen* 1 (August 1895), 137-140.

[15]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 58, 69-70, 118.

[16]Richard G. Moulton, *Address of Richard G. Moulton on the University Extension Movement* (Philadelphia: The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, [1890]), p. 17.

[17]Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, pp. 232-234; Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 53-59.

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significant development took place between 1883 and 1886. University faculty members had given lectures in the mining district of north-central England as early as 1875, and attracted numbers of miners. They returned with sentimental tales of miners walking miles to classes after a full day underground. In 1883 a group of student miners requested their union to make a contribution to the several extension centers in the district, although union law prohibited such a grant. After 3 years of discussion, the union voted not to change its rules. The defeat for extension was more emotional than financial. Extension leaders were convinced that the miners would contribute and, at any rate, the total subsidy would not have been large.[18]

Ultimately, the search for funds raised the question of government support. The Local Taxation Act of 1890 provided funds for technical education, and the county councils, which controlled these funds, used some of them to support extension courses on technical subjects. Despite this government largesse, extension leaders were uniformly suspicious of the preference shown to technical, as distinct from "cultural," subjects. R. D. Roberts warned, "the university extension movement is not primarily one for technical education, and if the idea gets abroad that it is possible in this way to completely supply the technical needs of industrial and agricultural districts, nothing but disaster can follow."[19] Other leaders and American visitors also warned of the danger. After 1893, a campaign was begun to induce the government to grant funds directly to university extension to sustain both types of courses. This campaign coincided with an investigation of extension by the London University Commission, which produced a generally favorable report. The request for aid occasioned bitter attacks as well, however, and in 1895 the government denied the extension request. Financial problems were evident throughout the history of extension in England and were among the principal causes of extension's decline after 1910.[20]

As extension became rooted in the English educational world, the organizational scheme of local center, district association, and university syndicate expanded. The first addition was the summer meeting, a 4- to 6-week session of concentrated extension work with students from the local

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[18]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 61-66; Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, pp. 235-236.

[19]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, p. 120.

[20]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, p. 120; Edward T. Devine, "Among the English Centres [*sic*]," *University Extension* 2 (September 1892), 65-72; Harriet Stanton Blatch, "University Extension in England," *University Extension* 2 (October 1892), 97-105; Lynda Grier, *Achievement in Education: The Work of Michael Ernest Sadler, 1885-1925* (London: Constable and Co., 1952), p. 16.

centers. The study was conducted by both regular extension lecturers and special visitors. Oxford held the first summer meeting in 1888, and Cambridge followed suit two years later; after 1896, the two universities hosting the event alternately. Students lived in the vicinity of the ancient buildings, and part of the importance of the summer meeting lay in the mystique engendered by the academic sites. "Lecturers they can hear at home," an American visitor reported, "but to be able to wander in and out those quaint buildings and taste the inspiration which only a place like Oxford has to offer was a privilege not frequently enjoyed by them. . . . To come into contact with [Oxford] is a liberal education in itself."[21] Cambridge reserved its summer meeting for less than 500 students who pursued more serious work, while larger numbers went to Oxford.[22] Although the summer meeting represented the antithesis of extension goals and philosophy, in that it brought the student to the university rather than the university to the student, it was one of the most popular aspects of extension programs on both sides of the Atlantic.[23]

There were, of course, problems. The summer meeting drew out the university year beyond the two sets of courses during the Michaelmas and Lent terms, and finances were a vexation. Scholarships were arranged for those unable to afford the 10 pounds for board and tuition. There was further aggravation in the question of credit for extension courses, which was more in demand because students could take summer courses in addition to the regular ones. The earliest lecturers had given no thought to the matter of university credit, for they had viewed extension only as a somewhat more systematic arrangement for popular lectures by qualified men than was otherwise available in England in the 1860s. But students wanted credit, and the earliest recognition of this took the form of a certificate issued by the London syndicate which sponsored the course. The certificate attested to the fact that an individual had attended at least three-quarters of the lectures, had done the written exercises, and had passed the examination. Such certificates did not suggest that extension study was of quality equal to that done by university students.

In 1866, however, Cambridge adopted a far more radical proposal. An extension student could enter Cambridge with 1 year's credit if he

[21]George Henderson, *Report on the University Extension Movement in England* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching, [1890]), pp. 17-19.

[22]W. H. Draper, *University Extension* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), p. 148.

[23]Henry W. Rolfe, "The Oxford Summer Meeting," *University Extension* 2 (October 1892), 114-118; George F. James, "The Cambridge Summer Meeting of 1893," *University Extension* 3 (September 1893), 95-100; Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, pp. 228-229.

completed eight 12-lecture extension courses, and passed entrance examinations in mathematics, Latin, and one other language. The plan was termed "affiliation," and those taking part were students "affiliated" to Cambridge University. The proposal drew praise from those who saw the doors of the university opening to more people, and criticism from those who believed that university study would be cheapened if extension work were declared to be of equal quality. It is not clear how many students took advantage of this plan, but one notable case was recounted in nearly every extension publication.[24]

Not even the strongest supporter of the extension movement believed in giving a special degree for extension work. It was generally conceded that extension could not compete with the prestige of a regular university degree. What James Creese has termed "the troublesome matter of credits" plagued extension from the early years.[25]

Summer meetings and affiliation increased and structured extension classes. What finally ensued—the organization of colleges out of particularly strong and active local centers—had the effect of destroying extension by transforming its most successful undertakings into a university. A center would initiate the process by systematizing its course offerings and attempting to arrange them in a developmental sequence. Later, it might establish a permanent faculty and become a degree-granting institution. This first happened at Reading in 1890, where Halford J. Mackinder became principal of the college. Two years later, Exeter established a similar extension college.[26]

These organizational developments evince a trend which became prominent in English, and later, in American extension. Extension leaders always stated that their enterprise was a blend of university scholarship and popular adult education. Developments in England after 1885 indicate that the pendulum swung away from the more popular tradition and toward making extension an exact copy of university studies. This process resulted in part from a derisive reaction toward the earlier forms of adult education. The emphasis on sequence, scholarship, and examinations may have been a defense half-consciously triggered by charges that extension

[24]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 82-83; Henderson, *Report on the University Extension Movement in England*, pp. 16-17.

[25]Canon Browne, "The Future of University Extension in London," in Roberts, *Aspects of Modern Study*, p. 32; James Creese, *The Extension of University Teaching* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941), p. 35.

[26]Michael Sadler, "A Step Forward in University Extension," *University Extension* 2 (September 1892), 77-84; "Notes," *University Extension* 2 (June 1893), 405; Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, p. 229.

study was not real university work. What Stuart had begun as a moderate reform of adult education, later extension leaders saw as part of a national educational plan deserving of governmental assistance.

The system of organization was only the outer structure of extension. At its center was a human encounter between lecturers and students. There is no evidence that the English suffered from the shortage of qualified lecturers that caused severe problems in America. English lecturers were often recent graduates unable to get a chair in one of the universities, and they were willing to do extension teaching for several years until a position became available. In short, there were more qualified university teachers than faculty positions. Americans, on the contrary, had a difficult time finding men willing to endure the travel and other inconveniences of a lecturer's life.[27]

English promoters further developed two special kinds of lecturers. For one, the staff lecturer had no formal connection at any university but was employed full time by the extension syndicate. (W. Hudson Shaw had the unusual distinction of being a staff lecturer on both sides of the Atlantic.) Second, there was the lay lecturer, unique to England, who was usually a successful student who came from a small town or isolated area that was unable to support a regular extension course. His teachers provided him with a syllabus and he taught his fellow villagers.[28] Whatever his type, the lecturer had to be not only a scholar but also a firm believer in extension work. His life was not easy, involving long hours of travel to distant centers. After 1875, lecturers organized circuits covering five to ten local centers; their life was one of trains and hotel rooms, for periods of 6 to 12 weeks. For 18 years, Richard Moulton led such a life, travelling 1,000 miles a week, grading 350 papers, delivering six to nine lectures, and leading an equal number of discussions. Dedication to the cause of adult education was an obvious prerequisite for satisfaction and success in such an assignment.[29]

The pedagogical method usually did not vary. After a quarter century, James Stuart, who developed the basic methodology of university extension, restated his belief that "oral teaching is the best form of education," as the reason he adopted the lecture method. Courses were generally of 6 to 12 lectures; the Oxford syndicate preferred the shorter and

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[27]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, p. 105; Woods, *English Social Movements*, p. 126.

[28]E. Ellis Edwards, "University Extension Lay Lecturers," *University Extension* 4 (December 1894), 185-189; Grier, *Achievement in Education*, p. 10.

[29]W. Fiddian Moulton, *Richard G. Moulton: A Memoir by His Nephew* (London: Epworth Press, 1926), p. 74.

more popular course. Stuart realized that some of his students had difficulty following the lecture, or taking notes, so he prepared a course syllabus, which became a standard feature of courses, containing a detailed outline of the lectures (which seemingly obviated the need for notes), a list of required and recommended readings, and occasionally, introductory and explanatory comments.

Stuart discovered that many of his female students, unaccustomed to public speaking, were shy about participating in class discussion. To provide an outlet for them, he arranged paper work in the form of essay questions.

The examinations were critical and criticized. No more than 10 percent of those who attended the lectures took the examinations, but 95 percent of those who did so were successful. This led to charges that the lecturers tested only the few points emphasized in class. To counter these charges, lecturers requested that university colleagues make up the examinations; as a result, the tests sometimes might not deal with matters covered either in the lectures or readings. Despite the lecturers' protests that many of the examination papers were of a quality comparable to those of university students, critics were unimpressed.[30]

As a system of adult education, university extension had many weaknesses; the most obvious was the lecturer's inability to force students to do paper work and take examinations. The movement represented, however, a significant advance over the haphazard methods of earlier programs. Because of the professional training of the lecturer and the systematic arrangement of lectures, a serious-minded student, who listened, read, discussed, and wrote, could derive much benefit from an extension course.

Lecturers were one element of the extension system, students another. Most observers insist that the students were overwhelmingly middle class, along with a minority of gifted workingmen.[31] R. D. Roberts, a closer observer, stated that the students were of three types: women who attended afternoon classes; young men who did not have the funds, intellectual ability, or social connections to get into the university; and artisans, who were the most enthusiastic if least numerous group.[32]

The role of the working man in the extension movement was widely debated in both England and the United States. Robert Woods felt that the

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[30]Stuart, "The Origin of University Extension," 8; Stuart, *Reminiscences*, pp. 161-168; Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, pp. 220-226.

[31]Creese, *The Extension of University Teaching*, p. 35; Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, p. 224.

[32]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 12-13.

test of extension was whether or not it could reach "the intellectual needs of working people."[33] Most English leaders shared this estimate and adopted plans designed to involve more workingmen in their classes. Among these plans were occupational courses and reduced rates for workers. Despite these efforts, however, the proportion of workers in extension classes remained uniformly low, less than one-sixth in 1892. The reasons for this were not hard to find. Lack of a primary education deprived many workers of the basic skills necessary for success in an extension course. Overtime, evening employment, and split shifts made it impossible for many laborers to attend a full course of lectures, or left them too tired to attend a lecture, or without the leisure time to do the reading and paper work. While making efforts to attract laborers, extension leaders insisted that the movement was for everybody. Roberts warned that lecturers must not abandon the middle class, and Moulton developed an analogy between an extension class and a congregation: men of all sorts were to be found in both groups.[34]

The student at the local center had one advantage over his university counterpart. In the late 19th century, the English university curriculum remained classical. But a single local center might offer a wide variety of courses: literature, chemistry, mining, physiology, geology, and political economy. Since the English did not print long lists of course schedules, as did Americans, it is difficult to determine the exact range of course offerings. Still, available evidence confirms the fact that extension presented a wider curriculum than did the universities.[35]

Extension students developed two organizations on their own, through which they sought greater benefit from the course work. The first was the student association, a voluntary society of zealous individuals who met each week in their local center, to read specially written papers or to discuss the course readings. These associations advertised extension work and occasionally arranged and financed courses for their members. They were one more manifestation of the push for sequence and scholarship in extension. A second development, at London, was the students' house, a boarding home for extension students, which contained elements of both a YMCA and a settlement house.[36]

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[33]Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[34]Ibid., p. 59; Moulton, *Address of Richard G. Moulton on the University Extension Movement*, p. 14.

[35]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, p. 23. For evidence of the classical curriculum see Algernon M. Stedman, *Oxford, Its Intellectual and Social Life* (London: Trubner and Co., 1878).

[36]G. C. Moore-Smith, "Students' Associations in Great Britain," *University Extension* 1 (October 1891), 115-121; Adams, "University Extension in Great Britain," p. 1034; Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 38-41; Henderson, *Report on the University Extension Movement in England*, pp. 29-30.

University extension was both a system of organization and a process involving a lecturer, a method, and a group of students. Interesting men became leaders in this educational movement. Michael Sadler, the most important and representative English figure, was not a lecturer but an administrator who vitalized the work at Oxford in the mid-1880s.

Sadler was born in 1861, the son of a Yorkshire doctor, and attended Rugby and Oxford, although the family was of only moderate wealth. After graduating in 1882, Sadler was unable to decide what sort of work he should do. After 3 years of doubt and inability to find a permanent position, he wrote to his fiancee, "I must get employment," for marriage depended on locating a permanent job. On May 20, 1885, he accepted the secretaryship of the Oxford syndicate, and wrote, "I am pledged to University Extension." His 10 years of work popularized, extended, and improved the extension system, and during these hectic years Mrs. Sadler frequently helped out at her husband's office. The tasks were so pressing that she wrote in her diary: "This wretched Extension burdens and hampers us at every point."[37]

Sadler had abilities not only in administration but also in public relations. He publicized extension constantly and represented England at the first conference sponsored by the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. In a lengthy paper, Sadler presented to that conference a number of his fundamental views. The movement was not a fad, he contended, but a matured and tested educational method, practical in every respect. Although his son recalled that the speech "fell rather flat," the audience would have had no difficulty concluding that university extension in England was a success. Extension study in England was by then so prestigious that job seekers used extension certificates as recommendations.[38]

In 1894 Sadler's bias was opposed by a series of bitter articles in *Nineteenth Century*, by Charles Whibley, a scholar, journalist, and literary critic. Whibley's attack began with an apocryphal account of a maid who attended an extension class in Greek on her night off, and who, the next morning, burnt her mistress's jam while she was lost in contemplation of Sophocles. Whibley felt that extension classes were spotty, scattered, and too "electivised." When the early lecturers confined themselves to polite

[37] Michael Sadler, *Michael Ernest Sadler: A Memoir by his Son* (London: Constable and Co., 1949), pp. 1-93, 120.

[38] Ibid., p. 114; *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Conference on University Extension, Held in Philadelphia, December 29-31, 1891, under the Auspices of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching*, compiled by George F. James, Editor of *University Extension* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), pp. 63-82.

talks for ladies, their work had been tolerable, but extension had become attached to the "shallow optimism of democracy." Whibley was an educational Tory. "Learning is dishonoured when she stoops to attract," he declared, and he asserted that extension dishonored the universities. He charged that the movement had "violated every principle of sound learning and amiable culture" which Oxford and Cambridge were pledged to respect. Whibley reserved special attention for Moulton's Greek courses; he called Moulton a "Xavier of the intellect," who allowed his students to read the Greek tragedies in translation. In fact, Whibley scorned extension lecturers in general as spellbinders. Why, he asked, was not scholarship among the lecturer's qualifications? His most withering sarcasm fell on the summer meetings. "For three weeks at a time the universities are invaded by a mob of intellectual debauchers . . . who sit them down to an orgy of information which is warranted to leave the stoutest with mental dyspepsia. The learning of all the ages is crammed into a fortnight. And who shall estimate the dishonour done to the invaded university, which should be the resort of a leisured culture?"

Despite Whibley's attack on nearly every aspect of extension, he seemed most concerned with the connection between it and the universities. "If only extension ceased to committ its sins in the name of Oxford and Cambridge and contrived to pay after the manner of Music-Halls and other popular enterprises, none would complain of its shallowness or remember its existence."[39]

Sadler replied the following month, arguing from authority—the highly favorable report of the Gresham Commission,—and citing foreign praise for English extension. Sadler presented evidence that the chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge favored extension, and he declared that the Cambridge affiliation scheme indicated university approval of the quality of extension. The only one of Whibley's criticisms which Sadler accepted was the charge that extension courses were not sequential, but he felt that work was being done to improve the situation. "An educational movement does not live and grow for 20 years and spread, as this has done, over a large part of the civilized world," he concluded, "if it is merely a pretentious bit of humbug."[40]

Laura Stuart wrote in defense of her husband's creation. Although Sadler had been willing to admit partial and temporary defeat on the question of sequence, Mrs. Stuart insisted that 81 percent of the courses given in

[39]Charles Whibley, "The Farce of University Extension," *Nineteenth Century* 36 (August 1894), 203-210.

[40]Michael Sadler, "The Facts about University Extension, I," *Nineteenth Century* 36 (September 1894), 371-382.

London during 1893-94 were in sequence with those of a preceding year. Her conclusion was that, far from proving an embarassment to the universities, extension assisted them by bringing them into contact with the people.[41]

The debate closed the next month with a final word from Whibley. He contended that age alone is no proof of quality, and that if the universities and their chancellors had approved extension, the event was all the more to their discredit.[42]

This exchange revealed that extensionists and their opponents not only differed on the merits of extension, but held totally different assumptions about scholarship and the social role of the university. For Whibley, the universities were the resorts of a leisured elite, cloistered centers of study. For extension leaders, the universities were social institutions with responsibilities to all classes which participated in extension courses.

Sadler's direct service to the extension cause came to an end in 1895, when he accepted another position in the government's secondary education bureau. "Your loss to university extension is irreparable," E. L. S. Horsburgh wrote him. In the United States, the principal extension journal editorialized: "His withdrawal is an irreparable loss to the extension movement."[43]

Men like Stuart, Roberts, and Sadler had created an educational organization which sought to provide "university education for the whole nation organized on a basis of itinerant teachers."[44] They had devised a federated system of control which divided responsibility for organization, advertising, and financing between the local centers and the syndicates. They had sent lecturers, equipped with a practical teaching method, to tens of thousands of people. They had created a literature which made possible successful imitations elsewhere, with a minimum of experimentation. And they had helped to reverse the trend of criticism against extension. As a Northumberland miner said: "All at once Cambridge and everything

[41]Laura Stuart, "The Facts about University Extension, II," *Nineteenth Century* 36 (September 1894), 383-388.

[42]Charles Whibley, "The Farce of University Extension," *Nineteenth Century* 36 (October 1894), 598-603.

[43]Sadler, *Michael Ernest Sadler*, pp. 109-114, 125; *Citizen* 1 (March 1895) 8-9.

[44]Richard G. Moulton, "University Extension and the University of the Future," Manuscript copy in Box 25, the Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.

pertaining to it becomes interesting and the [class to which the lecturer belongs] is regarded with generous feelings."[45]

University extension was in some respects a peculiarly English system, a curiously roundabout method of meeting the rising demand for secondary education.[46] There is little doubt that English extension was a response to a set of unique social and educational phenomena: the peculiar position and history of the two universities, the late 19th-century social structure, and the failure of the government to provide state-supported elementary education. However, English leaders also confronted the same problems which Americans would later face: inadequate funding, apathy among workingmen, and criticism from the intellectual elite. In essense, the elements which were central to extension—the federal government, the lecturer, the pedagogical method, and the student body—were not peculiar to England. By 1890, university extension on the English model was being attempted on the Continent, in Australia, and in the United States.

[45]Roberts, *Eighteen Years of University Extension*, pp. 36-37.

[46]"Editorial," *Education* 11 (February 1891), 376-377.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION BACKGROUND IN AMERICA

In the United States in the 1880s, university extension was only the latest in a series of ventures in schooling for adults. Adult education on an individual and group basis had existed in the colonial period, especially in Philadelphia, under the inspiration of Benjamin Franklin. But the first widespread movement of schooling for adults was the lyceum, imported from England during the Jacksonian era.

The leader in the American lyceum movement was a Connecticut Yankee, Josiah Holbrook, who became acquainted with the work of Dr. Birkbeck and Lord Brougham, and who issued his own lyceum manifesto in 1826. Holbrook's broadside contained not only the blueprint for a hierarchy of lyceums stretching from town to county throughout the nation, but also a series of arguments supporting their establishment. Holbrook contended that lyceums would disseminate practical information, upgrade social morality, educate the expanding electorate, and improve the common schools, all at a minimum of expense.[1] In 1829 Holbrook revised his manifesto and added a new list of benefits: improvement of conversation, propagation of libraries, increase of academies, compilation of town histories, completion of agricultural and geological surveys, and collection of mineral samples.[2] Holbrook's idea rapidly turned into reality, as small town residents throughout New England, the Middle Atlantic region, and the Midwest formed lyceums. Between 1826 and 1832, Boston established 15 lyceums, and 7 years later, the work in the Hub City culminated in the founding of the Lowell Institute.[3]

Although the original plan envisioned a hierarchy of lyceums, the local groups flourished most vigorously. Thousands of town dwellers and their farm neighbors spent winter evenings attending lectures on a wide variety

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[1]Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 21-23.

[2]Ibid., pp. 24-26.

[3]Ibid., p. 50.

of topics, both educational and entertaining. As the lyceum was a voluntary organization, the townsfolk organized the program themselves. A committee of local people contacted the lecturers and made all the necessary arrangements; the lecture hall was frequently the church, school, or town hall and a charge of 25 cents per person, or $1.00 to $2.00 per course, covered the lecturers' fees.[4]

Lyceum fever swept the country in the 1830s, much as university extension would 60 years later. The expansion of the electorate, resulting from the state constitutional revisions of the 1820s, led the "better elements" to fear an uneducated electorate and to adopt the slogan, "we must educate our masters." The lyceum was especially successful in small towns in New England and the Midwest. Lyceums also appealed to the laissez-faire attitude of the day, as no tax funds were required and no one who did not attend had to pay. In a social sense, "the lyceum was harmless." It taught practical arts to farmers and mechanics, provided morally uplifting lectures which in an earlier day would have been the Wednesday night sermon, and entertained people in semi-isolated communities. It was a "socially approved institution" which offered "no economic threat to the rich."[5] Controversial speakers were taboo.[6]

The character of lyceum work changed after 1845. It grew more commercial, as agents arranged travel schedules for lecturers. By 1865 any educational value had vanished, and entertainment monopolized the podium.[7] However, in spite of many failures and questionable educational value, the lyceum contributed a great deal. It aided both the common school and library movements in general, by stimulating interest in education; it brought before vast audiences some of the best contemporary minds; it was allied with the temperance and abolition movements.[8] A prominent university extension lecturer, writing in 1895, observed that the lyceum had set a goal of freedom and civil rights for all, and when the Civil War achieved that goal, then the lyceum lost the reason for its existence and faded away.[9]

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[4] Ibid., p. 188.

[5] Ibid., pp. 27-35.

[6] Ibid., p. 127.

[7] Ibid., p. 144.

[8] Although this appears to contradict what I said above about the ban on controversial speakers such is not the case. Noted abolitionists such as Wendell Phillips spoke for the lyceum but not on the subject of slavery. Nonetheless a large part of the appeal of such men must have been their notoriety. Furthermore, the lyceum was strongest in those geographic areas where antislavery and antiliquor sentiment was most powerful.

[9] William Cranston Lawton, "An Extensionist's Apologia," *Citizen* 1 (June 1895), 84-87.

The void left in the field of adult education by the demise of the lyceum was filled in 1873, when Mrs. Anna Ticknor organized the Society to Encourage Studies at Home. This Boston-based society, an early version of the correspondence school, mailed reading materials for home study at the usual fee of $10.00 per course. It seems that such correspondence study earned no credit. Although John Noffsinger stated that the society was a failure,[10] Mrs. Ticknor reported in 1891 that over 18 years the gross membership had exceeded 10,000, and that teachers constituted 18% of this number.[11]

While Mrs. Ticknor organized her pioneer correspondence school, a more auspicious event took place on the shores of a western New York lake. The first summer school and Sunday School institute of the Methodist church met at Lake Chautauqua in 1873. Two developments revolutionized the character of the Chautauqua program: the obliteration of denominational lines, and the expansion of the curriculum into secular subject areas.

The force behind Chautauqua was Bishop John H. Vincent. Vincent created an ideology faintly reminiscent of the educational philosophy of John Amos Comenius, which gave a religious aura to even the most secular of subject matter, and which postulated that it was almost sinful not to continue one's education throughout life. Chautauqua mirrored this ideology. "The whole of life is a school. . . . the true basis of education is religious, . . . all knowledge . . . is sacred. . . ."[12] For thousands of common people, Vincent's propositions provided an easily understandable justification for reading and study—to the glory of God and for the improvement of mind. Activities formerly regarded as of dubious morality, or even sinful, now became sacred. Vincent made the obligation to learn as an adult a part of the Protestant ethic.

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle engaged in a 4-year reading program, devoting a year each to Greek, Roman, American, and English culture. Thousands enrolled, but only one-fifth actually completed the 4 years of reading and received certificates. There was also a correspondence school of theology which offered an accredited bachelor of divinity degree, and later the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts offered 16 courses leading to a bachelor of either arts or sciences.

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[10]John S. Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums, Chautauqua* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 6.

[11]Anna E. Ticknor, "A Precursor of University Extension," *Book News* 9 (May 1891), 351-352.

[12]John H. Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Boston: Chautauqua Press, 1886), pp. 12-15.

The summer school was the most publicized aspect of Chautauqua. For several weeks the otherwise sleepy community sprang to life, as students, faculty, and distinguished visitors participated in the schools of pedagogy and sacred literature, as well as public lectures, concerts, and various entertainments.[13] The rustic setting at Lake Chautauqua charmed Americans as Oxford or Cambridge did the English.[14]

In terms of educational techniques, Chautauqua was a distinct improvement over the lyceum. Qualified university people were prominent members of the faculty; for example, the school of sacred literature was led by William Rainey Harper. Reading was arranged sequentially to provide the most benefit to the reader, and entertainment was an adjunct of the national and state summer meeting, not a primary purpose. However, there was little opportunity for contact between teachers and students, and few opportunities for testing.

Although Chautauqua was a school and not a church, it developed into something approaching a religion. The summer meeting was replete with processions and other rituals (the most famous of which was the "Chautauqua salute" of waving handkerchiefs), as well as hymns and pilgrimages. In a country still accustomed to a widespread piety and religious metaphor, adult education was expressed in terms of religion.

Overreligiousness was, in fact, one of the first charges leveled at Chautauqua. Vincent did not feel the charge merited rebuttal. Accusations of superficiality, however, drew the reply that such charges were substantially true but, "so is any college course of study," and superficiality is better than "absolute ignorance."[15]

Despite criticisms, Chautauqua managed to attract support from the most prominent university men of the day. Harper, Richard T. Ely, Herbert Baxter Adams, and a score of equally prominent academicians journeyed to the summer meetings as observers or members of the faculty, although after the universities began their own summer schools, the journeys became less frequent. By the 1880s, Chautauqua was an established feature of the educational scene. It had few pretensions about providing any form of advanced scholarship and so drew few attacks from university men, who were otherwise pleased with the opportunity for summer employment in an

[13] Herbert B. Adams, "Summer Schools and University Extension," in Nicholas Murray Butler, *Monographs on Education in the United States* (Albany, N.Y.: J. Lyon and Co., 1900), p. 7.

[14] Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement*, pp. 42-49.

[15] Ibid., pp. 208-226, 87-88.

age of low salaries. It was both an educational and religious expression, promoting piety and learning while avoiding sectarianism. As Herbert Baxter Adams put it: "Long before university extension was heard of in this country, Chautauqua began to feel its way toward helpful relations between the colleges and the people."[16]

A few other adult education agencies functioned during the 1870s and 1880s. One, the University Association, claimed to be the first extension society in the United States. Its president, Samuel Fallows, stated in 1895 that the association had originated in 1873 at the State Normal School in Normal, Illinois. It was currently located in Chicago, and had over 30 active centers in Wisconsin alone.[17] Little is known of the University Association's activities, but it would surely have come into conflict with extension courses emanating from the University of Chicago or the University of Wisconsin. However, the correspondence of the extension directors at both schools contains no references to competition from this Association, other than a boastful letter from Fallows proposing merger—a letter which both universities ignored.

There is more information about adult education in Baltimore, after the founding of the Johns Hopkins University. Since 1876, Hopkins professors had lectured to groups of bankers, clergymen, lawyers, stockbrokers, and charity workers. In 1879, workingmen from east Baltimore asked Hopkins president Daniel Coit Gilman for lectures in their neighborhood. Gilman replied favorably, and he, Ira Remsen, and Herbert Baxter Adams gave lectures to the workers. This soon led to the establishment of a library and reading room.[18] Such work was never called university extension, because some of the features central to extension—such as syllabi and examinations—were absent; yet the spirit behind the effort was similar to that which led to true university extension.

The American background of university extension introduces certain continuing themes. One, the Baltimore experiment, was concerned with workingmen; extension leaders attempted vainly to encourage the attendance of laborers. Second, although extension was not as religiously rooted as Chautauqua, its promoters often spoke in a religious rhetoric,

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[16]Herbert B. Adams, "University Extension and Its Leaders," *Review of Reviews* 3 (July 1891), 592-609.

[17]Samuel Fallows to Charles Kendall Adams, November 4, 1895, in Box 1, Jerome H. Raymond Papers, University of Wisconsin Archives.

[18]Herbert B. Adams, "American Pioneers of University Extension," *Educational Review* 2 (October 1891), 220-230; Herbert B. Adams, "University Extension in America," *Forum* 11 (July 1891), 510-523.

and were apt to view extension as a missionary enterprise for the evangelization of culture and social change.

The course of extension in America was to be different than it was in England. American extension leaders could draw on a more diverse background of adult education movements, and could emphasize either the practical training of colonial night schools or the cultural Chautauqua reading model. American universities were also very different from "Oxbridge," serving a more broadly based polity, with wider ranging curricula, and a deep commitment to social action that was already expressed in agricultural research. The English provided a methodology, the Americans the environment for the testing of that methodology.

AMERICAN EXTENSION IN THE 1880s

While the English developed a workable system of extension, Americans either flocked to Chautauqua assemblies or persisted in traditions of lecturing that went back in time at least as far as the lyceum. Not until 1885 did such a careful observer of the educational scene as Herbert Baxter Adams discuss the possible future of extension in the United States. Although the English freely admitted borrowing the idea of the summer meeting from Chautauqua, the Atlantic was a one-way street until the 1880s. One may hypothesize several reasons for this lag of 20 years. First, before the mid-1880s, there were serious doubts about the success of extension in England; the statistics (see Ch. 1) indicated that a sizeable audience did not appear earlier. Second, extension in England had a virtual monopoly of the adult education field; the tradition of lecturing was weaker than in the United States, where Chautauqua absorbed all the educational energies of many adults, through an appeal both to love of learning and a sense of piety. Third, the 70s and 80s were times of ferment in American higher education. New colleges appeared and old ones expanded into graduate institutions. Internal developments, such as faculty professionalization, bureaucracy, and departmentalization, left professors with little time or desire for off-campus lecturing, other than scattered appearances such as those by the Hopkins faculty. It was necessary to define what the American university was to be before any extension of that university could take place.[1] Still, despite preoccupation with internal developments, many persons were not satisfied with the scattered nature of contemporary American adult education, and in 1878 Sidney Lanier captured the essential idea of university extension when he expressed a wish for lectures that were sequential and systematic.[2]

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[1]For the thrust toward graduate education see Richard J. Storr, *The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). For various views on the question of the character of the American university see Lawrence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[2]"Schools for Grown People," Clipping in file marked "University of Chicago, University Extension Division" in the President's Papers, 1892-1925, University of Chicago Archives.

Herbert Baxter Adams, professor of history at Hopkins, was the first to push the idea of university extension in America. Adams' biography is archetypical of the new breed of scholars who seized control of university faculties in the 1880s and 90s. After graduation from Amherst, Adams completed a doctorate at Heidelberg before he was offered a position at the new Hopkins. During his quarter century at Hopkins, he supervised many doctoral students, participated in the organization of the American Historical Association, and served generally as an educational statesman. Because of his wide-ranging interests, and his editorial chores for the United States commissioner of education, Adams' own publication record was unimpressive, and his movement upward in the Hopkins faculty was slow. His reputation was probably better off-campus than on. Previously active in Chautauqua, his espousal of university extension did not represent for him a significant educational departure.

Adams first mentioned extension in print in 1885. Tucked away on two pages of the massive report of the commissioner of education was an article entitled, "University Extension in England." Customarily, Adams placed his topic in a macrocosmic setting, announcing that, "education, like government, is broadening its functions." One new function would be the education of adults by university men and methods. He briefly sketched the principal features of English extension, and then, realizing that Americans might respond favorably to the use of a business metaphor, he discussed the businesslike methods of English extension. He wrote that the appearance of extension was understandable as a working of the law of supply and demand. Industrialization had created a group of people deprived of education in their youth, who wanted to be educated as adults, and the universities were now able to meet this demand. "Sooner or later we shall see this movement sweeping America," he predicted, "to revolutionize old concepts of lecturing, which resulted in nothing more than a cheap variety show."[1]

Adams' initial effort to rouse interest in extension brought no response. Then, in 1887, he appeared at the convention of the American Library Association at Thousand Islands, New York, to deliver a curious speech on "Seminary Libraries and University Extension." Adams' approach to extension was based on the model of libraries in the seminar rooms of German universities, where all the reading for the seminar was contained in one location, to which students had undisturbed access. Adams felt that public libraries might set up separate reading rooms for the use of special groups, such as an extension class. The public library and the university would join with "the best forces in the community," without regard to politics, religion, or class, in a great crusade for mass culture. Adams

[1]United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1885-1886* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), pp. 748-749.

downplayed the missionary rhetoric and emphasized the business aspects of extension. On three separate occasions, he condemned the lyceum as a "variety show of literary fireworks," as compared to the systematic extension lectures.[4]

Although Adams' first effort had failed, his second bore fruit. In the audience at Thousand Islands was J. N. Larned, librarian of the Buffalo, New York, Public Library, who had already planned systematic lecture work. Larned returned to Buffalo anxious to begin the project, and he contacted "several gentlemen" who agreed to underwrite the expenses of the course. Larned then wrote Adams, whom he felt might recommend a competent lecturer.[5] Edward Bemis proved to be just the man—a fellow Amherst alumnus who had completed his doctorate under Adams in 1885. For 2 years, Bemis had been unsuccessful in locating a permanent academic position, a fact he attributed to his political views, and during these 2 years Adams had loaned Bemis several hundred dollars. When Adams received Larned's letter, he recommended Bemis. His motives were probably mixed, for although he was certainly anxious to see the English extension system attempted in the United States, Adams must have anticipated that Bemis would use his new salary to repay Adams' loan.[6]

Larned and his backers organized matters at Buffalo, agreeing on a fee of $2 for a course ticket, and, following English example, reducing the fee to $1 for workingmen. The course was to be on "Economic Questions of the Day," and Larned hoped the workingmen would attend the 12 lectures from late autumn to early spring. Bemis provided a syllabus and made himself available for discussion, while Larned followed Adams' suggestion and placed the reading matter in a special reserve room.[7]

The success of this first extension course in America is indisputable. Bemis wrote that "the course here continues to grow in popular interest and all classes from poor to rich attend and express great enthusiasm."[8] Larned

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[4]Herbert B. Adams, "Seminary Libraries and University Extension," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Fifth Series (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1887), pp. 21, 27, 30, 32.

[5]J. N. Larned, "An Experiment in University Extension," *Library Journal* 13 (March-April 1888), 75-76.

[6]Edward Bemis to Herbert Baxter Adams, December 22, 1887; Bemis to Mrs. Adams, January 3, 1902, in Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, Johns Hopkins University Library.

[7]Larned, "An Experiment in University Extension"; Herbert B. Adams, "University Extension in America," *Forum* 13 (July 1891) 512.

[8]Bemis to Adams, December 22, 1887.

reported to his fellow librarians, "The course brought together the most remarkably mixed company of people that we ever saw assembled in our city."[9] Half were women, but there were also union leaders, workers, business and professional men. Bemis handled such troublesome questions as anarchism, strikes, and socialism in a cool and unbiased manner. He spent many afternoons at the library, discussing the previous week's lecture with the students. While teaching the course, Bemis found time to proselytize on behalf of the American Economic Association. "I shall form a good sized branch of the AEA as many are enthusiastic for it."[10]

Larned and his backers had planned well, successfully advertising the course and adopting reasonable prices which did not drive away the laborer but produced a small surplus that could be used to plan a second course for the following autumn. Second, Bemis proved himself a popular lecturer, choosing a provocative topic which he could handle from a viewpoint at one time scholarly and entertaining, a topic in which all of the students had a direct interest. Third, Bemis made himself available to the students by living "in residence" at the library. The continued presence of the lecturer was probably the most important factor contributing to success of the course; it was also a situation not often duplicated in subsequent extension efforts.

The success of the Buffalo project prompted Bemis to continue to teach extension classes. The following winter, he repeated his course, in conjunction with the Public Library of Canton, Ohio, but poor advertising produced only fair results. In the spring of 1889, Bemis, who by now had acquired a position at Vanderbilt University, presented the same course in the St. Louis Public Library. Again, only fair success greeted this effort; the great distance to the library from the residential neighborhoods made it difficult for people to get to the evening lectures.[11]

The three courses Bemis presented between 1887 and 1889 proved that English university extension could be successful in America. Failures resulted not from the methodology but from extrinsic factors. Larned hailed the alliance with the universities and urged fellow librarians to sponsor extension classes, but librarians did not respond. Although extension people and extension literature firmly supported the public library movement through the 1890s, connections such as those at Buffalo, Canton, and St. Louis were not commonplace.

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[9]Larned, "An Experiment in University Extension," 75-76.

[10]Bemis to Adams, January 30, 1888.

[11]Adams, "University Extension in America," 514-515.

Bemis' classes would not have been possible without the advice and encouragement of Herbert Baxter Adams. Although after Thousand Islands Adams seldom took the initiative, he remained eager to assist others. More than any other man, he came to represent extension in America, and English leaders made him their preferred correspondent. R. D. Roberts, secretary of the London Society, wrote to express delight at "the interest which is taken in our movement, and the hope you hold of establishing something similar in America."[12] Roberts offered Adams advice about the qualifications of lecturers and the preparation of syllabi, and reminded him that "the steady growth and progress of the movement has depended upon the spirit and enthusiasm which the lecturers have thrown into their work." But Adams was not one to be caught up in tides of enthusiasm; the rhetoric of cultural and social salvation, which came to dominate extension literature, was largely absent from his writings. His position as leader of extension forces in America was indisputable, and was recognized in 1890 when Sadler requested an article on American extension for the *Oxford University Extension Review*.[13]

Chautauqua was second to enter the extension field. With its wide range of adult education activities already functioning, Chautauqua leaders did not find it difficult to add a department of university extension. Bishop Vincent had visited England in 1880 and again in 1886, observing extension on both trips. By the latter year, he was convinced that extension was successful and that Chautauqua ought to attempt it in the United States. Through a mutual friend, R. S. Holmes, Vincent queried William Rainey Harper concerning the advisability of beginning a Chautauqua university extension. Harper felt that the time was not proper. Funds were not available and there was no indication that the work would support itself; the cooperation of university men was doubtful; and colleges preferred to operate their own extension efforts rather than work through Chautauqua.[14] Vincent rejected Harper's advice and selected four men to draw up the plans for Chautauqua university extension.

In the summer of 1888, this committee, consisting of Herbert Baxter Adams, Richard T. Ely, Frederick Starr, and the doubting Harper, met and devised the Chautauqua extension system. All the methods used were to be those of English university extension,[15] and Chautauqua headquarters was

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[12]R. D. Roberts to Adams, July 12, 1888; September 6, 1888.

[13]Michael Sadler to Adams, July 14, 1890.

[14]George Vincent to Adams, May 26, 1891.

[15]James Creese, *The Extension of University Teaching* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941), pp. 38-40. Creese contends that "the Americanization of university extension occurred at Chautauqua." Such an opinion is unwarranted, as the Chautauqua program essentially duplicated that used in England.

to act as clearinghouse for information and agency for lecturers provided by the universities. This was to be a national form of extension, just as other Chautauqua divisions were national in scope. Accompanying the plan was a series of goals which the committee believed that it would accomplish: revival of interest in a "voluntary, itinerant university"; promotion of good citizenship through courses in political science and economics; cooperation between colleges, universities, and the people; and affiliation with YMCAs, libraries, and institutes.[16] The first prospectus appeared in September 1888.

Although there was general satisfaction with the plan in the United States, Michael Sadler, secretary of the Oxford syndicate, recorded a dissenting opinion. The committee had decided to adopt the plan of 12 rather than 6 lectures per course. Sadler felt that for a beginning organization, such a plan was too ambitious. George Vincent confided to Adams that he believed that Sadler's opposition was based on nothing more than the ancient Oxford-Cambridge rivalry, since Cambridge used the 12-lecture system that Chautauqua adopted, while Sadler's Oxford used the 6-lecture system. Vincent felt that Chautauqua should offer both types of courses.[17]

Chautauqua's extension program was never very successful. It was only one department in a vast adult education apparatus and did not fit in well with the other agencies. With its near monopoly of adult education, Chautauqua might well have felt that it alone deserved to attempt extension in the United States, and such an outlook embittered relations with other societies which later entered the field, and with conspicuously more success.[18]

While Chautauqua added extension on the English model to its adult education repertoire, schoolteachers in Brooklyn organized another form of university extension. In 1888 the University and School Extension Society appeared, with a formidable list of academic backers. This society provided training for teachers, by means of home study, class work, lectures, travelling libraries, and examinations—all leading to a certificate. Professors from prestigious colleges supervised the work. On the letterhead of the society appeared the names of President Timothy Dwight of Yale, President Francis Patton of Princeton, President Seth Low of Columbia, and Commissioner William T. Harris.[19]

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[16] Herbert B. Adams, "University Extension and Its Leaders," *Review of Reviews* 3 (July 1891), 602.

[17] George Vincent to Adams, October 20, 1888.

[18] See Chapter 4.

[19] "University and School Extension," (unsigned editorial) *Science* 16 (December 19, 1890), 344; United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1889-1890*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), I, pp. 833-835.

Melvil Dewey, who was in the process of organizing extension in upper New York State, asked Adams what he thought of the University and School Extension Society.[20] But Dewey's work was still several years from completion, and he felt no concern. To the extension people at Chautauqua, however, the appearance of competition was both startling and somewhat annoying. George Vincent visited Stewart and discovered that "he is not at all familiar with the English university extension work and just pushed up the name as a good descriptive title."[21] But the public support given the society by the presidents of several Ivy League colleges disturbed Vincent. Although he felt "there is no reason why we should abandon our plan and with perhaps the exception of President Dwight, our list of names will be just as formidable," nonetheless, Vincent saw that speed was necessary to get the Chautauqua material before the public.

Adams reassured Vincent that Chautauqua's established character and respectability gave it great advantages over any other institution. Vincent was relieved and reported, "I am very sure that the 'University Extension' in Brooklyn will not achieve remarkable success, at least not with astonishing rapidity."[22] The prediction proved correct, for the work in Brooklyn was to be squeezed out by agencies in Albany and Philadelphia. However, until about 1890, University and School Extension was the most prominent of the scattered groups sponsoring extension. The report of the education commissioner for 1889-90 devoted eight pages to university extension, three of which dealt with the Brooklyn group.

The hotbed of early extension work was New York State. It was at Thousand Islands that Adams advanced the idea, and Buffalo, Brooklyn, and Chautauqua experimented with it. Another important effort took place under the auspices of the University of the State of New York. Unlike other American universities, this institution conducted no classes but served as a regulatory and administrative agency, controlling higher education in the state. At the July 1888 convocation of the university, Melvil Dewey, state librarian, discussed the possibility of extension work through its agency. Such an arrangement would require legislative appropriation, a first for extension on either side of the Atlantic. In 1890 a committee appointed to study the question reported favorably, and on April 14, 1891, the legislature passed the necessary enactment.[23] Ralph

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[20]Melvil Dewey to Adams, February 8, 1889.

[21]George Vincent to Adams, December 1, 1888.

[22]George Vincent to Adams, December 5, 1888.

[23]James E. Russell, "The Extension of University Teaching in England and America: A Study in Practical Pedagogics" (Presented to the University of Leipsic[sic] for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Leipsig, 1895) p. 178.

Thomas, chief examiner for the university, attributed the legislative success to the "educators of the state" who were "a unit in asking for its passage." Their support provided "the most valuable ally of university extension."[24] Another factor favoring passage of the bill was the propagandizing of Dewey. In the summer of 1889 he travelled to England to study English methods first hand, simultaneously corresponding with Adams, exchanging ideas, and encouraging his library employees to organize extension classes.

One library employee, William B. Shaw, a former student of Adams, was doing research at the library and living at the Albany YMCA. Shaw's colleagues thought he "came from university extension headquarters coming from [Adams'] influence," and they offered him a small salary to direct a course.[25] Adams provided his former student with literature and sound advice. When Ralph Thomas replaced Shaw as chairman, the correspondence ceased, however, and there is no evidence that the course was ever held.

The state aid provided by the act of 1891 could be used only for the creation of an office in Albany which would schedule courses, examine students, and provide travelling libraries and stereopticon shows where necessary. The initiative still remained with local groups, which had to contact the state university for information about courses and lecturers. Lecturers' fees could not come from state funds. The system was a continuation of the English system of local centers and central office, except that, in this instance, the state funded the central office. This breakthrough in obtaining state aid was not duplicated, however, nor was the possibility of state aid realistically anticipated by other extension societies.

On the day that Governor David B. Hill signed the bill, Dewey began a search for a suitable director. He wanted "the best man in America . . . at a reasonable salary," but flirted with the possibility of importing an experienced English extension official for 6 months to get things functioning smoothly. Eventually Dewey himself became director.[26]

The experiments with extension drew comment from the educational leadership of the time. At the 1890 meeting of the Middle States and

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[24]Ralph Thomas, "The State and University Extension," in *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Conference on University Extension, Held in Philadelphia, December 29-31, 1891, under the Auspices of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching*, compiled by George F. James, Editor of *University Extension* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), pp. 152-153.

[25]William B. Shaw to Adams, May 4, 1890; May 16, 1890; August 24, 1890.

[26]Dewey to Adams, May 1, 1891.

Maryland Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, William Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, who was attempting to introduce extension in Philadelphia, summarized the history of the English movement and then threw the question open to discussion from the floor.[27] Seth Low, president of Columbia, stated that he knew of no extension work under way in New York, despite the fact that his name appeared on the letterhead of the University and School Extension Society. William T. Harris tied his support of extension to a philosophical position: for 30 years the colleges and universities had been losing contact with the people. Businessmen such as Andrew Carnegie blustered about the negative value of a college education in the business world: "Philistinism has come more and more to the fore in the management of public affairs." Harris obviously believed that extension would provide at least a partial cure for this dismal state of affairs. Charles Kendall Adams, president of Cornell, was the first to express doubts; Oxford and Cambridge have a large number of potential lecturers in their fellows, he stated, whereas professors in the United States are already overworked. Apparently the thought of using graduate students never crossed his mind. Melvil Dewey, last to speak, was in the midst of the legislative struggle which eventually brought state aid. "I should like three hours instead of three minutes to comment on this movement which I am profoundly convinced is the most important educational matter of the century." Dewey's fiery enthusiasm may have been the result of a meeting with Richard G. Moulton 2 weeks earlier, during Moulton's first American visit. His subsequent remarks were generally restrained, for he saw a great danger in extension becoming a fad. "Our only safety is in guiding and controlling this movement from the old universities," he said; otherwise, he predicted, it would "fall into the hands of people who will bring discredit upon the whole movement." The implications for extension agencies in Brooklyn and at Chautauqua were clear. The meeting took no formal action on the topic; with the exception of Pepper and Dewey, both active in promoting extension, the reception was subdued.

University extension, more particularly the Society in Brooklyn, drew comment from the resolutions committee at the 1891 meeting of the National Education Association at Toronto. The movement for extension was "capable of large beneficial results, but encompassed with some dangers." No one should suppose that it can compare with regular educational agencies, but it can be of "no inconsiderable value" to those who find it impossible to return to school. If one understands its limitations, *and*, if home study is made more prominent than the lecture, *and*, if lectures are educational and not merely entertaining, *and*, if the

[27] Middle States and Maryland Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, *Proceedings of the Annual Convention, Princeton, New Jersey, 1890* (New York: Globe Printing House, 1891), pp. 37-48; also Dewey to Adams, November 10, 1890.

arrangement of studies is "discriminating," the movement will "bear fruits and scatter blessings along its pathway." The recommendation is less than hearty, and what strikes the reader is not the "fruits and blessings" but the lengthy chain of "ifs." Apparently, the statement referred only to the Brooklyn society and not to any of the other agencies haltingly undertaking extension work.[28]

Discussion of extension also took place in some educational journals. In an unsigned editorial, the periodical *Education* warned of the dangers of grafting a foreign feature on the American educational system. Rather, universities should coordinate their work with that of the public high schools, to complete the educational ladder from kindergarten to graduate school. Furthermore, there was a danger that extension classes would attract only the "leisurely classes in the large cities."[29] The *Educational Review* also adopted a cautious approach, stating that extension's future was still in doubt. It commented on disturbing reports that extension was as good as a university education, and it suggested that extension might renew the contact of universities with the people.[30]

The usual reaction to extension among educators was cautious. They worried over the adaptability of English methods, as well as the possibilities for chicanery, and a return to the educational level of the lyceum. Some feared that work that bore no resemblance to university study would nonetheless bear the label "university." The greatest reason for caution lay in the fact that extension had not proven itself, for nowhere in the country was there a large, active, successful organization. The scattered work of Bemis was producing mixed results,[31] while the other agencies were doing more planning than lecturing. A demonstration that extension could attract large numbers over a wide area for a duration of several years was necessary. Such an effort would require study of the English movement, planning, civic support, advertising, and adequate funding. In February 1890, such an effort was begun in Philadelphia, and grew into the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching.

[28] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, Toronto, 1891* (New York: J. J. Little, 1891), p. 37.

[29] *Education* 11 (February 1891), 376-377; (April 1891), 508.

[30] *Educational Review* 1 (April 1891), 388. University extension frequently came under attack for claiming too much for its work and lecturers frequently defended themselves from this charge. In spite of this I have come across no instance of an extension lecturer or official claiming that extension was equal to, let alone superior to, a regular university education.

[31] Bemis to Adams, October 13, 1891; October 22, 1891; October 29, 1891.

Early extension-ventures at Buffalo, Canton, St. Louis, Chautauqua, and Brooklyn were not representative of the future of American extension. Universities had not yet become interested in the movement, and their faculties had remained uninvolved. But these beginnings evinced trends which were to characterize extension in the years just ahead. Bemis' determination to select a topic that was both scholarly and popular was, for example, the first indication of a dilemma which would plague lecturers. The failure of libraries to support extension was of note, too. Finally, there was the cautious, almost suspicious attitude of educational journals and some university leaders.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY AND THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

"To Philadelphia institutions, Philadelphia men, and Philadelphia money is due the credit of first organizing [university extension] in a practical way . . . ," wrote George F. James, secretary of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and editor of its monthly periodical.[1] James's sentiments were echoed by Herbert Baxter Adams: "Philadelphia really deserves the credit of really establishing university extension in a thorough and systematic way."[2] During the years 1890-91, citizens of Philadelphia developed a powerful organization which controlled extension activity in the Middle Atlantic States, and success stirred dreams of leading a national movement.

For Philadelphia, the establishment of the American Society marked a brief return to educational leadership. The city had been the cultural capital of colonial America, the political capital in 1776. As the home of the leading philosophical and medical minds of the day, it naturally became the headquarters of the American Philosophical Society. But Philadelphia's political influence declined when the capital moved to the Potomac, and did not outlast the 18th century. Soon the leading American men of letters lived in New York or Boston, and meanwhile, competition with New York City and Baltimore destroyed Philadelphia's economic supremacy. Most educational innovations of the 19th century either passed over the city or won reluctant acceptance. Residents did not take kindly to the lyceum, and no great people's institute arose to compare with the Lowell in Boston, the Peabody in Baltimore, or Cooper Union in New York. The University of Pennsylvania remained the school for proper Philadelphians, but provided little in the way of educational excellence or experimentation.

In the 1890s, however, Philadelphia became the site of the largest independent extension society in the world. The success of the society was a result of the support which it received from the community, careful

[1]George F. James, "University Extension in America," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* 6 (January 1892), 701-712.

[2]Herbert Baxter Adams, "University Extension in America," *Forum* 11 (July 1891), 510-523.

advance study and planning, and close association with neighboring colleges and universities. Another contributing factor was a tradition of adult education which dated back to Benjamin Franklin's organization of a reading society for mechanics and tradesmen.

Of immediate importance for the extension society were two adult education projects of the late 1880s. First, the University of Pennsylvania presented public lectures to city residents through its Lecture Association. This arrangement made it possible for professors to earn a few extra dollars, and helped to improve relations between "town and gown." In most cases the lectures were unique, although occasionally two or three covered the same ground. Neither professors nor audience regarded this work too seriously; examinations were unheard of and university credit unthinkable. For $5 per year, a charge far higher than that subsequently levied by extension, a Philadelphian could wile away a number of winter evenings.[1]

A second adult education effort in Philadelphia in the 1880s was motivated by Morrison I. Swift, a resident of the first settlement house in the city, established in 1888 at 22nd and Vine Streets and staffed by students from Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, and Haverford — among them, Mr. Swift. The settlement developed most of the clubs and projects common to such institutions: a kindergarten, crafts and English classes, and a neighborhood cleanup operation. In February 1890, the residents initiated what they called "university extension lectures" on social economy.

Swift was unsatisfied with the work done at the settlement and, in a book-length review of the experiment published in 1891, judged it to have been a failure because it had not been sufficiently radical. Charity workers, social clubs, kindergartens, public schools, and night schools had all failed to reach the poor and would be unable to do so until there was "a complete industrial and social revolution." In the vanguard of this revolution would be what Swift called "the social university," a loose association of neighborhood guilds, one in each ward, which would offer both adult education and recreational opportunities. He thought such guilds might serve as headquarters for university extension lectures, and would provide the professors who served as lecturers a chance to live among the "unwashed" rather than retreat to their comfortable homes every evening. Faculty members were to have total control over the social university. Swift was profoundly suspicious of wealthy trustees, who would, he feared, attempt to usurp control and blunt the radical force of the social

[1]See Folder, "Lectures," in Archives, General, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Philadelphia.

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university. He summarized his proposal in a sentence strikingly out of place in late 19th-century America: "Thought should rule wealth."[4]

Swift's plan rested upon a social ideology far more radical than that which university extension adopted. His social university would stand for "the complete liberation of the working classes"; its goal was "the eradication of their poverty."[5] Swift scorned charitable and educational societies which attempted only to make the lives of the poor more comfortable, and he did not shrink from placing responsibility for the condition of the poor upon the rich who, through a dual system of overwork and low pay, made it impossible for the poor to escape their condition. Because of the defenseless state of the poor, he recommended that each neighborhood guild should have a lawyer-advocate in residence.[6]

Swift broadened his attack to include the universities. The contemporary curriculum was outdated and rested on the belief that the world had not changed since the fall of Rome. The universities were under the control of the wealthy, conservative trustees, who opposed every effort of the more progressive faculty to study modern social problems in a scholarly manner, or to act to alleviate them. There was hope for the universities only if they could throw off the control by the wealthy and orient the curriculum to the hard realities of modern life.[7] Had Swift remained in Philadelphia long enough, the American Society, with its very wealthy and very elite board of directors, would have incurred his wrath. In his belief that education was to be a revolutionary tool and not a substitute for social reform, Swift foreshadowed the ideas of modern radicals. His neighborhood guilds invite comparison with contemporary storefront universities in the political orientation of their faculty and the poverty of their clientele.

The history of university extension in Philadelphia begins properly in the late autumn of 1889, at a meeting held in the office of John Converse, at the Baldwin Locomotive Works. William Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, discussed extension before an audience of businessmen. In February of the following year, a second meeting took place at Pepper's Spruce Street home, and extension was again the topic. The group then invited Herbert Baxter Adams to come to Philadelphia to address the

[4]Morrison I. Swift, *The Plan of a Social University* (Ashtabula, Ohio: Charles H. Gallup, [1891]), pp. 1-5, 9.

[5]Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Morrison I. Swift, "The Working Population of Cities and What the Universities Owe Them," *Andover Review* 13 (June 1890), 589-613.

Contemporary Club on the topic of university extension.[8] A final series of meetings, at the Penn Club during June of 1890, resulted in the creation of the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching. A general committee of 46 named an executive committee of 10, and elected Pepper president. The executive committee represented the business, professional, and academic worlds. It included Charles C. Harrison, president of the Franklin Sugar Refining Company and Pepper's successor as provost of the University of Pennsylvania; two clergymen, the Reverends John Macintosh and Charles Wood; a teacher, Sidney Skidmore of the Philadelphia Normal School; and a lawyer, J. G. Rosengarten.[9] The constitution provided for the payment of annual dues of $5 to secure the privileges of voting and free attendance at all lectures offered by the Society. A life membership cost $50. Frederick B. Miles assumed the post of treasurer, and the executive committee appointed George Henderson as a salaried general secretary.[10]

The committee realized that success was impossible without extensive study of the English experience and the cooperation of the colleges and universities in the area. Contacts with the University of Pennsylvania, Lehigh, Bryn Mawr, Swarthmore, Haverford, Franklin and Marshall, Lafayette, and Jefferson Medical College assured the cooperation of these faculties and their willingness to serve as extension lecturers.[11] The executive committee further recognized the need for a study of the English extension movement. No one in America had given it serious study before undertaking similar work, although Bishop Vincent had made some observations during his two trips abroad. At a meeting on June 6 a fund was collected to enable George Henderson to spend the summer of 1890 in England.[12]

On his return, Henderson submitted a report to the officers and members of the Philadelphia Society. He recommended that Philadelphians follow the English model; for example, the use of existing buildings and local organizations, public support by influential citizens, and an initial popular

[8]Herbert Baxter Adams, "University Extension and Its Leaders," *Review of Reviews* 3 (July 1891), 592-609.

[9]Francis N. Thorpe, *The Life of William Pepper* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1904), pp. 385-394. Thorpe indicates that Mrs. Pepper gave him access to her late husband's papers, and he cites documents no longer in the Pepper papers at the Rare Book Room, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

[10]"The Constitution of the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching," (Pamphlet) (Philadelphia: The Society, [1890]), in Box 1, Miscellaneous University Extension Material, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[11]"The Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching," (Leaflet), Ibid.

[12]Thorpe, *Life of William Pepper*, p. 386.

course of lectures to serve as a transition to more serious extension work. The Philadelphia Society adopted all of these devices.[13]

Henderson's study of English extension convinced him that the Society should adopt the shorter, six-lecture course. Such an arrangement had two advantages: the shorter course was generally on a more popular topic and hence more certain of success and it was less expensive. In adopting this position, Henderson evinced a peculiarly realistic view of the demand for adult education, a matter on which promoters of extension were often overly optimistic. Henderson argued bluntly, "that in the great majority of cases the demand for university extension must be created."[14] Henderson also offered hardheaded advice about the dangers involved in too rapid expansion of extension. "An attempt to cover the whole city [with local centers] at the outset would but invite defeat," he wrote, for the demise of one center would become a signal for others to cease operation, and the whole movement would collapse of its own weight. The English experience provided a history which showed that "the work must necessarily proceed slowly." University extension "is a growth and not a creation."[15]

While in England, Henderson attended the summer meetings at Oxford and Cambridge and lived in a students' house. As might be expected, he was inspired by the sight of common people pursuing education in the universities' ancient halls. He was also impressed with the extension students' London houses. "Why should not such houses be started right here in Philadelphia?" he asked. "There should be no financial difficulty. When the men recognize that they can live cheaply in these houses . . . there cannot be any dearth of applicants for rooms."[16] The financial naivete of this reasoning is evident.

Henderson barely mentioned in his report the subject of financing extension. Perhaps he assumed that the wealth of the council members of the Philadelphia Society would be liberally applied to any financial problem which might arise.[17]

In conclusion, Henderson dwelt on the goals of university extension, and he neatly summarized its essence. "What are we aiming at? It is to bring the

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[13]George Henderson, *Report on the University Extension Movement in England (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching, [1890])*, 9-12.

[14]Ibid., p. 12.

[15]Ibid., p. 12.

[16]Ibid., pp. 30-31, 17-19.

[17]Ibid., p. 28.

very best teaching by the most thoroughly equipped teachers within the reach of the poorest and busiest in the vicinity: to give to those to whom it has been practically denied the opportunity for systematic knowledge and liberal culture which have hitherto been the privilege of the few."[18]

The usefulness of this report to the Philadelphia Society is debatable. Long sections were quotations from books on university extension by Michael Sadler, R. D. Roberts, and Halford J. Mackinder, all available in the United States. Henderson was at his best in discussing curricular matters, such as long versus short courses, and the number of local centers. His study was, however, a sound base on which to build, and the Philadelphia Society could well claim in later years that its early work paved the way for subsequent efforts elsewhere.

So far, the preparation for the introduction of extension in Philadelphia had been procedural: meetings in factories and private clubs, the dispatch of a reporter to England, and the writing of a constitution; it was now necessary to arouse public enthusiasm among prospective students. Therefore, the Society arranged a mass meeting in the YMCA Association Hall at 15th and Chestnut Streets, for the evening of November 19th. Herbert Baxter Adams was invited to share the platform with President Patton of Princeton and James MacAlister, a Philadelphia philanthropist.[19] "The great attraction," however, was the principal speaker, Richard G. Moulton, the most popular extension lecturer in England, who had come to the United States to lecture under the sponsorship of the Redpath Lecture Bureau of Boston, a commercial outgrowth of the lyceum.[20]

Moulton did not disappoint the Philadelphia backers of extension. He told them what they wanted to hear and made them feel that their efforts were part of great historical forces. He declared that "university education has nothing to do with universities." University education was not defined by physical location but by three characteristics: it was voluntary, unlimited in scope, and intended to continue throughout one's adult life. As such, extension could be classified as university education, and there was no reason to suppose that it should relax its standards below those of the universities.

Moulton reminded his audience that extension was part of a historical trend to participation by all classes of men in human affairs. During the

[18]Ibid., p. 31.

[19]George Henderson to Herbert Baxter Adams, October 20, 1890, in Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.

[20]Adams, "University Extension and Its Leaders," 606.

Protestant Reformation, the masses obtained the right to participate in worship of God; during the governmental upheavals of the 18th and 19th centuries, they had won the right to govern themselves democratically; and now, university extension offered them the right to participate in their own continuing education. For those who feared the radicalism of equality of educational opportunity, Moulton had soothing words: extension was not educational communism, for although all would receive education, the amount which each person could absorb varied with individual talents.

In touching on more prosaic topics, such as organization and funding, Moulton recommended that there be both a central and local office as was the case in England, and as seemed to be the case in Philadelphia. Funding was a more difficult issue; Moulton declared that "extension *ought* not to pay for itself," and urged that wealthy citizens make yearly subscriptions to support the movement. Moulton spoke of the missionary zeal of extension: "To infuse a missionary spirit into culture; that is the purpose of university extension."[21]

With Moulton's rousing speech and an extensive newspaper advertising campaign, the preliminaries were ended. Course work had actually begun on November 3, with the first lectures on chemistry to the St. Timothy's Workingmen's Club and Institute in the Roxborough district of the city. During the winter of 1890-91, 23 local centers were established: 9 in the city proper, 6 in nearby areas of Pennsylvania, 3 in New Jersey, 2 in Delaware, and 1 as far away as Bridgeport, Connecticut. Forty courses attracted over 6,000 people. Philadelphians proudly stated that they had accomplished in 1 year what had required Londoners 16 years. They believed that it was proper to compare their Society with that in London, since both were independent, without direct connection to a university.[22]

The question of how to organize a local center came up early, and the Philadelphia Society followed the English model.[23] The first step was the formation of a local committee "thoroughly representative of the town." This committee then contacted the administration and faculty of nearby colleges to ascertain the availability of lecturers. A lack of willingness did not mean that extension courses were impossible; it meant that the lecturers would have to come from a distance, thereby increasing expenses. The committee also contacted the opinion leaders of the community, "the

[21] Richard G. Moulton, "Address of Richard G. Moulton on the University Extension Movement" (Philadelphia: American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, n.d.), pp. 4-6, 16-19.

[22] "The Courses and Centers of 1891-1892," *University Extension* 2 (July 1892), 7-20. See also: "History of a Branch Society," *University Extension* 1 (July 1891), 18.

[23] "How to Organize a Local Center," *University Extension* 1 (July 1891), 21-26.

leading professional and businessmen . . . the most influential ladies . . . the ministers of the different churches . . . those connected with the school system . . . the local press." When this had been accomplished, it was considered wise to call on the central office (the Philadelphia Society) to send a representative to consult with the committee on any difficulties. The embryonic local organization next elected officers and called a public meeting to explain the extension system to local citizens. At this meeting there was to be an effort to obtain pledges for a guarantee fund, as this was the best system of financing extension. Failing this, yearly subscriptions, payable in advance, were also excellent funding devices. If this proved impracticable, tickets could be sold in advance as proof of good faith. With the completion of the local organization and provision for its funding, the officers of the local center corresponded with the Philadelphia Society, in order to arrive on a mutually agreeable lecturer, subject, and set of dates for the course. The charge for a six-lecture course was $130 plus the travel expenses of the lecturer: $120, or $20 per evening, went to the lecturer, while the remaining $10 went to the central office for clerical expenses and the printing of syllabi.

The movement expanded rapidly in Philadelphia, because nearly all of the local centers grew out of existing institutions. For example, the Association Local Center, fountainhead of extension work, developed from the YMCA, and catered both to YMCA residents and to the residents of the elite Rittenhouse Square neighborhood who staffed the council of the Philadelphia Society. The New Century Guild, the United Club and Institute, the Wagner Institute, and the YWCA also established centers. These already extant organizations not only added the prestige and stability of their names, but also provided rent-free rooms in which lectures could be held, a major savings for the local center.[24] The course work of the first year was largely in the areas of history and literature, and was to be so throughout most of the life of the movement. As in England, most of the afternoon students were women, while evening classes attracted a more diverse audience. The usual English appurtenances of lecture, syllabus, class work, paper work, and examinations were duplicated.

The success of the first winter's work was enhanced by the presence of Richard G. Moulton on the platform. At the request of William Pepper, Moulton decided to extend his visit to America to lecture for the Philadelphia Society. His overwhelming success in attracting large numbers to his lectures outshone that of the professors from local colleges. Moulton informed Adams that, "I am pretty well established in the work here now, so far as attendance goes we have reason for satisfaction. We are

[24] "The Courses and Centers of 1891-1892," 7-17.

yet to see what will be the crop of paperwork."[25] By late March Moulton had no free time: "every day, afternoon, and night has been long appropriated up to the date of my sailing."[26]

The first winter's accomplishments prompted several changes in the structure and personnel of the Philadelphia Society. On December 23, 1890, the Society changed its name to the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and the Philadelphia Society became the first chapter of the new organization. The obvious hope was that the other organizations beginning extension courses throughout the country[27] would affiliate with the American Society.

Meanwhile, the demands of the presidency had become too much for William Pepper, who already had a full-time position as provost of the University of Pennsylvania. In April 1891, he resigned in favor of Edmund J. James, professor in the Wharton School of Business and Economics of the University of Pennsylvania. Finally, the American Society added a council composed of two representatives (generally the president and one faculty member) from each college or university cooperating with the Society, and the superintendent of education in each state. The members of this council were to advise and assist, and at the same time to join the prestige of their individual and institutional names to that of the Society.[28]

James began a career in which he served as the chief executive of the two largest extension organizations, the American Society and the extension division of the University of Chicago. Born in 1855 in Jacksonville, Illinois, James had studied at Northwestern and Harvard, without satisfaction in the education he received. Like so many young scholars of the time, James then went to Germany, to Halle, where he took up the study of economics. After receiving his doctorate in 1877, he returned to Illinois as principal in the state Normal School, before coming to the newly established Wharton School in 1883. During his years at Pennsylvania, James was active in promoting professional education for businessmen, and in forming the American Academy of Political and Social Science. On March 16, 1891, Pepper offered him the presidency of the American Society, at a salary of $3,500 a year, plus travel expenses, an office, and a stenographer. Pepper expressed confidence in James's administrative ability but doubted

[25] Richard G. Moulton to Herbert Baxter Adams, December 6, 1890, December 13, 1890, in Adams papers.

[26] Moulton to Adams, January 30, 1891, March 23, 1891.

[27] See later in this chapter.

[28] "The Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching," (Leaflet).

whether he had the enthusiasm necessary for the position.[29] During the next 2 weeks, Pepper canvassed the members of the executive committee and determined that James was an acceptable replacement.[30] Perhaps to allay the suspicion that he did not have the proper spirit for extension, James made a trip to Boston during which he drummed up support for extension.[31]

On April 9, 1891, James was officially elected president, and Pepper assumed the honorary presidency. The selection of James was heartily endorsed by the Philadelphia press.[32] Although James had not earlier identified himself with the extension cause, as a student of administration he was especially well qualified to fill the presidency. The services provided by the central office were mostly administrative and, in choosing James, Pepper may have desired to see the office function as economically as possible.

The achievements of the group which had first met in the fall of 1889 were striking. The governmental framework, so carefully laid out, had proven adequate. Professors from nearby colleges had responded generously with time and talent. A house organ, *University Extension*, had appeared in July of 1891, with most of its pages devoted to explaining or promoting extension. Prior to this, news for students was circulated through the pages of *Book News*, a monthly publication of Wanamaker's department store.

The American Society had begun as a local organization with the limited goal of organizing extension in the Philadelphia area, but early in its existence it began a drive for national recognition, symbolized by a change of name from Philadelphia Society to American Society. By 1891 the Society had created a body of explanatory and promotional flyers and fact sheets, and the extension societies which had appeared in Cleveland, Toledo, and elsewhere, requested copies of this literature. The wealthy board of directors underwrote the printing costs, an advantage not shared by other groups. Through its monthly periodical and its successful first year, the Society had become the most widely known of the experiments in university extension attempted during 1890-91.

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[29]William Pepper to Edmund J. James, March 16, 1891, in Box 1, Edmund J. James Papers, University Archives, University of Illinois Library, Champaign.

[30]Pepper to James, March 30, 1891.

[31]See clipping from *Boston Advertiser*, March 31, 1891, in Box 1, Edmund J. James Papers.

[32]See clippings from the *Philadelphia Herald*, April 9, 1891; *Philadelphia North American*, April 10, 1891; and *Philadelphia Review and Republic*, April 18, 1891, in Box 1, Edmund J. James Papers.

The principal means by which the American Society consolidated its influence over the other extension experiments was to sponsor a national conference on university extension which opened on December 29, 1891, in the Association Hall of the Philadelphia YMCA. Present were delegates from 20 states. A mixed group from Philadelphia included officers of the Society, lecturers, local center secretaries, and students. Those from a distance were chiefly college presidents and professors. Many organizations unable to send a representative sent a written report of their activities. William Pepper delivered a welcoming address which attempted to calm any fears that the conference was a power play by the American Society. He assured the delegates that there would be no effort to interfere with the activities of any other organization. The Society stood ready to offer "advice, information, and assistance," but beyond that it would not go.[33]

Following Pepper on the platform was William T. Harris, United States commissioner of education, who shared top billing with Michael Sadler, secretary of the Oxford syndicate. Harris' speech deserves careful study, for it reveals how one of the best minds in American education completely misunderstood the nature and goals of university extension, and how, early in the conference, the idea of one national extension society was rejected by an influential figure.

This was not Harris' first attempt to discuss extension; he had spoken on the subject at the 1890 convention of the National Education Association and had kept himself informed of the progress in Philadelphia.[34] Observing the entire educational system, Harris believed that the elementary schools were performing adequately, but that the weakest rung of the educational ladder was the high school, which was producing "a vast current of Philistinism and arrested development," because "the classic studies and pure mathematics have been discouraged" and replaced by business and vocational courses. Thus, a gap appeared between elementary and higher education, a gap which was the greatest argument in favor of university extension, since, Harris believed, extension was designed to bridge this gap. Harris saw extension as the bridge which transported from elementary school to college those persons who otherwise would not seek higher education. Harris missed the most fundamental point about extension: that it was *adult* education, designed for those who had left school but in maturity desired further study. It was not a rung in the educational ladder; it was not even a part of the ladder.

[33] William Pepper, "Address of Welcome," in *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Conference on University Extension . . .* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), pp. 15-17. (Hereinafter referred to as *Proceedings*.)

[34] William T. Harris to Herbert Baxter Adams, January 8, 1891. See also: National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses: Sessions of the Year 1890, Held at St. Paul, Minnesota* (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1890), pp. 240-253.

Harris viewed optimistically the effects of extension on the universities. In the first place, extension worked against the pernicious tendency toward overspecialization. In extension lecturing, the specialist's jargon was worthless, and professors exposed themselves instead to a healthy challenge to their ability to generalize. Second, extension enabled the universities to recover some influence among the common people, defined by Harris as the "weaklings of society," and "the slum element which threatens the rule of law." Harris said extension arose not from a repressive but from a missionary spirit, "the spirit of divine charity."[35]

Harris concluded his speech with topical commentary: that it was better for extension to be organized in a number of local independent societies, rather than in one central society. "Let any state whose government provides money to manage university extension within its boundaries go on and solve its own problems." The American Society deserved congratulations for its success, and every other organization should carefully consider the advantages of joining with it; but this was by no means necessary.[36]

The delegates must have puzzled over Harris' speech. No extension organization had ever taken as one of its major goals the task of providing secondary education. Occasionally, of course, there was an isolated incident in which a lecturer in a small town discovered a youth with superior intellectual ability unable to attend college, and helped or encouraged him to do so. But such incidents were rare when compared to the tens of thousands of adults who took extension courses for altogether different purposes. Finally, Harris' refusal to endorse the concept of a national extension society was an early indication of the conference's tone.

Bishop John H. Vincent of Chautauqua spoke to the delegates with the purpose, as he put it, "to secure your confidence and cooperation." Both Chautauqua and university extension had come under attack by university men. Furthermore, some extension lecturers and leaders had criticized the methods of Chautauqua. As Vincent saw it, there was no need for conflict or "misapprehension" between the two adult education movements, since both believed in "the application of the highest and most approved methods of education to the out-of-school multitudes—all of them, at all ages, in all social conditions. . . ."[37]

It was precisely this core of common belief which was the reason for the conflict between movements. The leaders of Chautauqua had already

[35]William T. Harris, "The Place of University Extension in American Education," in *Proceedings*, pp. 18-31.

[36]Ibid.

[37]John H. Vincent, "Chautauqua and University Extension," in *Proceedings*, pp. 32-37.

realized that the American Society posed the greatest threat yet to their expansion. As early as March 1891 George Vincent had written to Herbert Baxter Adams, complaining that "the University of Pennsylvania people" behind the American Society proposed to do correspondence work, and "in every way [to] carry out Chautauqua methods."[38] The following June, Vincent urged Adams not to slight Chautauqua in an article about university extension which the historian was preparing for the *Review of Reviews;* Vincent offered to provide promotional photographs which Adams might include in the article.[39] As the annual Chautauqua summer session drew near, Vincent grew more perturbed with the American Society:

> They have adopted everything but the nomenclature of Chautauqua. A letter from [H. S.] Thorpe [lecturer for the American Society] asks to have a conference on university extension work held at Chautauqua during the time of his visit. These people are really going to bring a little light into the benighted regions of Chautauqua. I wrote him that we had been doing university extension work and holding conferences on the subject for the last four years, and that it seemed unnecessary to make any further provision, especially as Mr. Melvil Dewey would discuss the subject during the very week he mentions.[40]

Thus, by the summer of 1891, an unfriendly spirit had grown between Chautauqua and the American Society, a misunderstanding about the nature of the work done by the Philadelphia organization. Thorpe's letter to George Vincent would have been unnecessary had he looked into Chautauqua university extension.

In an attempt to smooth over the incipient conflict, Bishop Vincent attempted, in his address, to stress a separate identity for Chautauqua. He emphasized the religious and Biblical studies, as well as the vesper service, rituals, and student songs that were unheard of in extension circles. Still, he admitted that the primary commitment of Chautauqua was to adult education, a commitment shared by extension. Vincent might have been more successful if he had distinguished among the clientele which each organization served. For a variety of reasons, extension was most successful in cities and small towns near colleges and universities, whereas rural areas were organized by Chautauqua into extension classes, correspondence students, or members of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Vincent's address solved no difficulties, and throughout the 1890s, extension lecturers continued to snipe at the quality of Chautauqua adult education.

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[38]George Vincent to Herbert Baxter Adams, March 7, 1891.

[39]Vincent to Adams, June 1, 1891.

[40]Vincent to Adams, June 18, 1891. Adams must have been the recipient of this correspondence because Chautauqua extension leaders were convinced of his neutrality.

Walter C. Douglas, general secretary of the Philadelphia YMCA and board member of the American Society, spoke on the relations between extension and the "Ys" which existed in the major cities and on the college campuses. Parallels existed between the rise of the "Ys" in the 1880s and extension in the 1890s: both were urban, Protestant-oriented, educational institutions, seeking to make better citizens. YMCAs had meeting rooms which could be placed at the disposal of extension lecturers. Within the "Y" dormitory were young men whose interest in education might be used as a lever to convince them to enroll in extension courses. However, the relationship never became close. One exception was the Association Local Center of Philadelphia, which was headquartered at the YMCA; another, an extension course arranged at the Albany, New York YMCA. The failure of the "Ys" to cooperate in encouraging extension is difficult to understand. One explanation may lie simply in age. Extension enrollments were usually drawn from persons beyond the age of most "Y" dwellers, and this may have made the young men uncomfortable.[41]

The last institutional representative to speak was Charles De Garmo, president of Swarthmore and former colleague of Edmund J. James at the Illinois State Normal School. In discussing "The Colleges and University Extension," De Garmo hit upon two major problems which the smaller colleges would face in attempting to develop extension: finances and faculty. The first could be solved, De Garmo felt, through association with a central organization like the American Society; the colleges would face no expense other than lost faculty time. Faculty was the second problem and not susceptible to an easy solution. De Garmo was convinced that already overworked college faculties were unable to do any systematic extension lecturing. Still, the colleges could be pressured to offer extension if the universities were doing so. Extension was, moreover, a useful tool for cultivating good relations with the smaller towns which provided the bulk of the colleges' students. De Garmo's solution to these conflicting pressures was to provide fellowships for college graduates to do extension lecturing for a central society while they pursued graduate work.[42] De Garmo may not have realized that the solution to the problem was to effectively remove the small college from the picture, to turn over total responsibility to a central society. What he did not want to say, but indirectly said, was that small colleges did not have the resources to mount effective extension programs.

De Garmo's speech concluded the first section of the Conference devoted to interaction between university extension and other institutions. In general, the delegates heard what English extensionists preached for years: that

[41] Walter C. Douglas, "University Extension and the YMCA," in *Proceedings*, pp. 45-50.

[42] Charles De Garmo, "The Colleges and University Extension," in *Proceedings*, pp. 51-53.

extension easily mingled with any other institution, club, group, or society. Such an explanation indicates why extension spread like a fad in the early 1890s: many organizations attempted it without any serious commitment that it become a permanent part of their activities. When the sponsoring groups developed new interests – for example, bicycle riding or roller skating (other fads of the 1890s) – extension courses disappeared. Significantly, the optimistic speeches in the first part of the conference came from men closely associated with the American Society. Harris and Vincent took a less cheery approach which, because of their eminence, may have had greater influence with the delegates.

The conference concluded with a series of oral or written reports of each state's extension activity.[43] New England, the adult education leader during the lyceum era, lagged in development of extension. The leading center was, instead, Brown University, which had incorporated extension as a division in June of 1891. The extension director, Professor Wilfrid H. Munro, reported that in the academic year 1890-91, 13 lecturers had delivered 21 courses in 9 cities. Brown followed the English pattern, with the significant exception that the printed syllabus was not used. Because of the compact nature of Rhode Island, there was an exceptionally low fee of $100 for a course of 12 lectures,[44] and all lecturers were members of the Brown faculty.[45]

The Hartford Theological Seminary had traditionally presented free public lectures on religious topics and, under the leadership of Graham Taylor, the courses were drawn into line, more or less, with extension standards.[46] Massachusetts gained in the "spillover" from Connecticut, as one of Taylor's courses met at Springfield. There was no real extension in the Bay State, although President Merrill Gates of Amherst proclaimed support of the idea, and a group of 40 Harvard students, calling themselves the Prospect Progressive Union, had given 20 courses of lectures to Boston workingmen.[47]

Northern New England remained untouched by extension. In Maine, the Bowdoin faculty were arranging courses for the coming year, while in

[43] For the beginnings of extension activity in Chicago, Wisconsin, and Kansas, see Chapter 5.

[44] Compare this fee with the American Society's fee of $130 for a six-lecture course.

[45] *Proceedings*, pp. 158-160. See also: *University Extension* 1 (July 1891), 27; Ibid. 1 (November 1891), 163.

[46] *Proceedings*, pp. 160-166. See also: Louise Wade, *Graham Taylor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 40-47.

[47] *Proceedings*, pp. 157-158.

Vermont the state university was "cordial towards the movement," and in New Hampshire extension was limited to newspaper accounts of activity elsewhere.[48]

Two centers of influence, the University of the State of New York and the American Society, divided extension in the Middle Atlantic region. The University of the State of New York was limited by state boundaries and by apathy, and expanded slowly. However, the American Society organized not only Pennsylvania but also the adjacent states of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and, across the Potomac, Virginia, where A. W. Roy Stephenson had organized a local center at Winchester where Henry W. Rolfe presented a course in literature in the fall of 1891.[49]

The only independent extension activity in this area took place at Rutgers University where, under the sponsorship of Professor Louis Bevier, Jr., extension became a part of the university, and nine 12-lecture courses were offered. Rutgers' courses were oriented toward the farmers of the state and, in their lack of examinations and their limited clientele, failed to measure up to the standards typical in university extension. Throughout the 1890s, Rutgers remained an independent force catering to the Jersey farmers, while the New Jersey local centers of the American Society provided courses in more cultural topics.[50]

In the Midwest, there was considerable activity, of organization if not of actual courses. Toledo and Cleveland had organized local societies on the Philadelphia model, drawing their lecturers from the numerous colleges of Ohio and from the University of Michigan. In Cincinnati, activity centered around the Saturday morning courses the University of Cincinnati had provided for public school teachers since 1889. These courses were among the most intensive offered, each consisting of 30 lectures. On January 21, 1892, representatives from nearly every college in Ohio organized the Ohio Society for the Extension of University Teaching, to coordinate activity in the state.[51]

In Michigan, a state which, unlike Ohio, had a strong state university, the faculty of the state university informed the public in November 1891 that it stood ready to teach extension courses on the model of the American

[48] Ibid., p. 157.

[49] Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[50] Ibid., pp. 167-168. See also: *University Extension* 1 (July 1891), 27.

[51] *Proceedings*, pp. 178-182. See also: Emerson O. Stevern, "The Cleveland Society for the Extension of University Teaching," *University Extension* 1 (March 1892), 276-277; also: Ibid. 1 (July 1891), 28.

Society, and it awaited calls from local organizations. Detroit had already established a local center a month earlier, and soon courses began there as well as in Kalamazoo, Bay City, Grand Rapids, and Hillsdale. By December 1, 30 Michigan faculty members were teaching 60 courses in 23 subjects.[52]

The earliest supporters of extension in Indiana were the members of the Association of College Alumnae, later the American Association of University Women. They turned first to Johns Hopkins and Michigan in their search for a lecturer, but settled for a professor from the less prestigious University of Indiana. In June 1891, the faculty at Indiana appointed a committee to prepare a list of courses for the coming year, adding a notice that, because of the time spent in travel to local centers, all classes must meet on Friday evenings or Saturday mornings. Obviously, they were concerned that extension lecturing not interfere with their campus duties. Soon local centers had formed at Indianapolis, Evansville, Chicago, New Albany, and Louisville.[53]

Further west, in both Minnesota and Iowa, extension was organizing about the time the national conference assembled. During 1890 there had been an extension course in both Saint Paul and Minneapolis, in the former, at the Academy of Science, and in the latter, at the public library, sponsored by the Collegiate Alumnae Association. In both, the lecturer was from the University of Minnesota, although its faculty did not officially recognize extension until late in 1891.[54] In Iowa, the state university began scattered extension courses in the fall of 1891.[55]

The same conditions which depressed Southern education hindered the growth of extension generally: a scarcity of colleges and universities, the rural character of the region, and a paucity of libraries and other cultural institutions on which extension could build. What activity there was took place on the fringes of the region. In the fall of 1891, the faculty of West Virginia University organized a state extension society and announced that it was prepared to give courses. As a result, 12 lecturers presented 35 courses, although local organization was spotty.[56] In Kentucky, extension

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[52] *Proceedings*, pp. 190-193. See also: *University Extension* 1 (October 1891), 125.

[53] *Proceedings*, pp. 182-183. See also: *University Extension* 1 (September 1891), 93.

[54] *Proceedings*, pp. 201-205. See also: "Extension Teaching in Minnesota," *University Extension* 1 (May 1892), 367-368; also: Ibid. 1 (July 1891), 28.

[55] *Proceedings*, pp. 205-206.

[56] *Proceedings*, pp. 170-172.

began under the auspices of the University of Indiana, at the request of the Louisville Teachers' Association.[57] Reporting from Tennessee, Edward Bemis recalled his failure to interest the people of Nashville in extension, a failure which he attributed to the overwhelming, all-encompassing, and (in his opinion) unhealthy interest in religious questions, which left Tennesseeans with no desire for adult education. Surprisingly, even the public library, whose existence itself was unusual, had refused cooperation in sponsoring an extension course.[58] William Preston Johnson, president of Tulane University, declared that since 1884 his institution had given free public lectures and drawing classes for the citizens of New Orleans. Public school teachers were a majority of the audience, and the university, though anxious to upgrade these lectures to extension status, found itself financially unable to do so.[59]

A smattering of usually futile efforts mark the earliest attempts to introduce the extension system into the Far West. In Colorado, the Denver Society was formed on May 24, 1891, with George Henderson present for the occasion. The scarcity of lecturers, the vast distances, and the overwhelming lack of interest shown by the residents of Colorado, frustrated even the most determined enthusiasts.[60] In October 1891, less than a year after its admission as a state, Wyoming organized an extension association at Laramie.[61] California undertook the most serious extension project west of the Mississippi. The University of California's academic council retained control of the courses, only full-time faculty were allowed to lecture, and standards remained as high as those for regular university work. As a result, completion of an extension course earned the full credit given for correspondence work in the university. Lecturers who visited the local centers at San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, and Oakland, discovered that extension students developed a fondness for the state university; in one case, an English literature class of 400 students donated $200 for purchase of a Shakespeare library by the university.[62]

The extension experiments reported to the First National Conference were incredibly diverse. Despite the best efforts of the American Society to

[57] Ibid., pp. 177-178. See also: Edward W. Bemis, "University Extension in Kentucky," *University Extension* 2 (July 1892), 21-24; also: Ibid. 1 (October 1891), 122.

[58] *Proceedings*, pp. 176-177. See also Bemis to Adams, October 13, 1891; October 22, 1891; October 29, 1891.

[59] *Proceedings*, p. 176. See also: William Preston Johnson, "University Extension in the South," *University Extension* 1 (September 1891), 65-73.

[60] *Proceedings*, p. 216. See also: *University Extension* 1 (July 1891), 28.

[61] *Proceedings*, p. 216.

[62] Ibid., p. 217.

provide a set of national norms, universities and societies throughout the country deviated from the norms. In some cities like New Orleans and Cincinnati, extension was the continuation of a system of free public lectures, with a change only in the name. Elsewhere, as in Philadelphia, Michigan, and Indiana, extension adhered closely to the English model. At another extreme, in California extension was little more than regular university-credit classes conducted off-campus. Generally, extension referred to classes in literature, history, and the social sciences, but at Rutgers, courses in agriculture were included under extension. This diversity grew out of preexisting systems of public lectures in many cities, where the grafting of some extension features onto these systems produced strange results. Thus, extension did not have the field to itself but was mingled with indigenous systems of adult education.

Second, if there was no agreement as to what extension was, or was composed of, neither was there consensus on one single method of organization. Although there was generally a central office servicing a number of local centers, the specific forms of government were varied. At Brown, Rutgers, and California, extension was an organic part of the university a year before Harper's University of Chicago adopted that system. At Michigan, the faculty proclaimed their readiness to teach courses, while in Indiana, Minnesota, and Ohio, the public had seized the initiative. There were city societies in Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, and elsewhere, state societies in Connecticut, Ohio, and Wyoming, and even a national society in Philadelphia.

All this confusion about the content and organization of extension meant that the hopes of the Philadelphia leaders for a national extension society with effective control throughout the country were doomed. The reports of the vast amount of lecturing going on under the general name of "university extension" must have excited these men, but the confusion as to what extension meant and how it should be governed must have appalled them. The house organ of the American Society does not again mention hopes for one great national agency. Just as American colleges and universities were local, American extension would be the same.

The American Society was not able to govern extension throughout the United States, and the universities increasingly saw little advantage in society membership. Still, though the Philadelphia group could not attain national supremacy, it was nonetheless the largest extension agency in the country. George Henderson prepared a report which showed that during the first 13 months of the Society's existence, 60,573 persons had attended lectures in 43 courses; 231, or three tenths of one percent, had passed examinations and received certificates; 63 percent had stayed for class

work; and 5 percent had written weekly papers.[63] The American Society was also the only American group which had extensive contacts in England. Richard Moulton had been present at its organization, and Michael Sadler attended the national conference. In return, George Henderson and Walter C. Douglas had travelled to England to study extension methods there.

By holding the national conference in Philadelphia (not a favorite convention site in the 1890s), the American Society had restored some of the city's lost cultural prestige. The Philadelphia newspapers took extensive notice of the conference, and the "exceptionally warm welcome" included receptions at the Art Club and the Academy of Fine Arts.[64] Nonetheless, the real significance of the conference was negative. The Society had failed to nationalize American extension. The conference was the last important gathering to emphasize national extension. The future lay with local adaptations of the English model.

[63] "The Report of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, November 3, 1890-December 31,1891," in *Proceedings*, pp. 226-229.

[64] *Proceedings*, p. 6. See also quotations from the *Philadelphia Press*, December 27, 1891; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, n.d.; *Philadelphia Ledger*, December 29, 1891, January 6, 1892; and *Philadelphia Call*, n.d., in American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, *University Extension: Its Claim to Public and Private Support* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1893), p. 19.

EXTENSION IN THE WEST: LOCALISM

Among the highlights of the First National Conference on University Extension were the reports of extension activity in Wisconsin and Chicago. Expectations were high that here the movement would find a perfect home and spread rapidly. Even before Robert LaFollette and Charles Van Hise joined in support of higher education in service to the people, Easterners viewed Wisconsin as a progressive state, largely because of its educational system. In an article published in *Harper's* in 1888, Charles Dudley Warner praised the "Great West" states of Minnesota and Wisconsin, noting the program of farmers' institutes and the quality of the state university which was beginning to rival the University of Michigan.[1] The University of Wisconsin did not merely import the English model of extension; it had previously developed a type of indigenous university extension: the farmer's institute. The English model came to Wisconsin not under the auspices of the American Society but as a natural outgrowth of both earlier efforts at agricultural extension and promptings of Herbert Baxter Adams and several of his most distinguished students.

Wisconsin's extension owed nothing to the American Society, saw no reason to affiliate with it, and developed a powerful extension system totally independent of the Society's influence or control. When joined to an even larger extension effort in Chicago, equally indigenous in its origins, Wisconsin extension became part of a Madison-Chicago axis which thwarted the aspirations of the American Society to assume leadership of all extension in the United States.

In both Wisconsin and Chicago, university extension was what its name asserted; it sprang from a university and not from an independent society. Hard feelings never developed between these eastern and western extension movements, as between the American Society and Chautauqua, but neither was there notable cooperation in such matters as the distribution of promotional literature or mutual financing of visiting English lecturers.

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[1]Charles Dudley Warner, "Studies of the Great West," *Harpers* 76 (April 1888), 768-776.

Apart from Wisconsin and Chicago, Kansas was the only midwestern state to experiment successfully with extension in the 1890s. More important was a straightforward desire for more contact between the university and the people, as well as a strong effort to stay one jump ahead of the University of Missouri, and in step with the latest eastern trends. In a state torn by Populist politics and suffering an economic crisis, extension lecturers nonetheless spoke on the usual subjects, producing an unnatural air of normality.

Extension activities at the universities of Wisconsin, Chicago, and Kansas mark the first effort to connect the machinery and social ideology of university extension with the increasingly powerful state and private universities. The measure of success which each achieved depended on local circumstances and was great enough to assure that, in the long run, the future of American extension lay with universities which were committed to agricultural and service-oriented higher education, rather than with the independent extension society, which could match neither the resources nor the potential audience of the university.

Since colonial times, scientists had attempted to convince farmers of the value of scientific agriculture. A society organized for this purpose in 1785 drew support from both Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. By the middle of the 19th century, college professors frequently dabbled in agricultural chemistry and sought to communicate the results of their experiments to farmers, but the latter, suspicious of laboratory agriculturalists, stayed with the methods of their ancestors. Squanto, the first "professor" of agricultural education in America, had discovered how to convince doubtful farmers by demonstrating results in the field, but this technique was not used again until the early 20th century, when Seaman A. Knapp demonstrated its success and campaigned for federal funding.[2]

The earliest attempts at university extension in Wisconsin began in 1885. The farmers' institutes consisted of a series of lectures and demonstrations conducted by university professors in small towns throughout the state. Since the institutes convened during the slack winter season, actual field demonstration was impossible. The university did not initiate these short courses out of concern for the farmers; rather, farmers' demands for a separate agricultural college forced the university to make concessions in order to avoid the appearance of contesting for public funds in the legislature. The farmers' institutes operated under an organizational plan which was similar to extension in England. The university served as a central office and handled requests for institutes from local groups of farmers. The institutes were successful in attracting adequate numbers of

[2]Joseph Bailey, *Seaman A. Knapp: Schoolmaster to American Agriculture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), *passim*.

farmers to lectures, but it is difficult to assess how much of what they learned the farmers applied. Through the institutes, however, the university was active in blunting the potential opposition of farmers and their legislative allies.[3]

The content of the farmers' institutes was quite unlike university extension as perceived by the English, and the institutes were not a direct cause of the later appearance of English-style university extension on the Madison campus. Still, if the university could provide special education for farmers, it could do the same for other groups, and the university began a summer school for teachers in 1888.[4]

There is a temporal coincidence between the establishment of summer schools and the growth of university extension. Extension societies in England had developed summer sessions solely for regular extension students, an idea imported by the American Society in the early 1890s.[5] Thus, the decision of the University of Wisconsin to begin a summer school can be viewed as a further expression of the viewpoint that the university has a special relationship to the people it serves.

Support of extension by the university president was essential. President Thomas C. Chamberlin of the University of Wisconsin was an early advocate of extension, and in his report for the year 1889, he recommended adoption of extension on the English model. In 1890 Chamberlain delivered a speech before the Wisconsin State Teachers Association, seeking support for a plan by which the university could continue its agricultural extension and at the same time introduce cultural extension. Chamberlain's speech was a sober statement of the workings of extension, free of any millenial anticipations.[6]

A further need was for faculty members who knew the extension system and were willing to attempt to implement it. The leader was Frederick Jackson Turner, who had been a student of Herbert Baxter Adams at

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[3]Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin, 1848-1925*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), I, pp. 711-712; Frederick M. Rosentreter, *The Boundaries of the Campus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), pp. 17-22. For a discussion of the difficulties land grant colleges had in defining their purpose see Earle D. Ross, *Democracy's College* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1942), *passim*.

[4]Rosentreter, *The Boundaries of the Campus*, p. 29.

[5]On English summer sessions see Chapter 1; on those of American Society see Chapter 5.

[6]Curti and Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin*, I, pp. 715-720; Thomas C. Chamberlin, "University Extension," Address delivered before the Wisconsin Teachers Association at Madison, December 29, 1890 (Madison: State Journal Printing Co., 1891).

Johns Hopkins during the years in which Adams was promoting extension through public libraries and Chautauqua. By 1890 Turner had returned to Wisconsin and drummed up support for extension, urging the State Historical Society to invite Adams to deliver a public address, while simultaneously reminding Adams that the topic of the speech must be university extension. "The main point is the opportunity to present university extension in the higher aspects to a state ready for the seed by its spontaneous acts in the same direction."

Although Wisconsin was not as "Philistine" as other states, it did need a movement like extension.[7] Several weeks before Adams' scheduled address, Turner provided him with more background information; although there was an extension in Wisconsin, it was "industrial" extension, directed toward farmers and mechanics. The university administration, especially Chamberlain, recognized the need for cultural extension but feared a scarcity of lecturers and the attitude of university regents.[8] The beginnings of cultural extension took place during the academic year 1890-91 when Turner offered lectures of the type used elsewhere to create interest in extension, and when Adams spoke at the Historical Society on "The Higher Education of the People," dealing with the necessity of extension in the United States. In the spring of 1891, Turner related to Adams that Chamberlain had convinced the regents of the value of cultural extension and that courses would begin in the fall.[9]

The ranks of faculty supporters swelled in the fall of 1891, when Richard T. Ely followed Turner from Baltimore to Madison. Acquainted with extension through association with Adams, Ely brought with him two of his students, Lyman P. Powell and Frederick W. Speirs, who were involved in organizing extension in the state. Although there had been little time to set up an organization of local centers, calls for courses came from Milwaukee and Madison, the six-lecture-unit course was adopted and a fee of $60 per course plus expenses was arranged. Turner offered a course in American History, which met in the hall of the state assembly. He reported to the readers of *University Extension* that, during the first year, 78 centers had organized in 63 cities, and 53 courses had been presented to a gross audience of 7,500. Since there were 50 percent more centers than courses, it seems obvious that a scarcity of lecturers already existed. As in

[7] Frederick Jackson Turner to Herbert Baxter Adams, September 27, 1890, in Adams papers, Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University.

[8] Turner to Adams, December 8, 1890.

[9] Herbert Baxter Adams, "The Higher Education of the People," Manuscript Copy in Box 25, Adams papers; Turner to Adams, May 7, 1891.

Philadelphia, most of the audience attended the class sessions, but few took the examinations.[10]

Although Turner reported at the outset that, "Of course we shall adapt our work to our environment as we have always tried to do," the Wisconsin faculty and students rigidly adhered to the elements of the English system,[11] and they attracted a very similar audience. Women were in the majority, and workingmen were not well represented. Turner believed that the absence of workingmen indicated that they required specially adapted courses. (The idea of "adaptation," so common in Turner's historical writing on the effects of the frontier on the individual, also appears in his writings about extension.) The men who attended courses were professionals, businessmen, or schoolteachers.[12]

Turner in 1890, and Chamberlain in 1892, had foreseen one problem which plagued extension everywhere—scarcity of lecturers. In attempting to attract professors, Chamberlain stressed the good advertising produced by extension. On the one hand, better public relations developed if professors made appearances throughout the state; on the other hand, on their journeys they might discover a talented young man whom they might convince to come to the university.[13] Chamberlain joined Charles de Garmo in urging the use of graduate students as extension lecturers; but this idea was never implemented, with the exception of the brief tenure of the university extension "seminary" in Philadelphia.[14]

One reason for the failure to draw on the rapidly enlarging pool of graduate student talent was visible in Wisconsin's strategy of employing only the most widely known of the faculty for extension courses. It was hoped that men like Turner, Ely, and William Scott might attract the doubtful through their prestige if not through a sincere interest in extension. Turner felt however, that this strategy would eventually prove disastrous, for the most famous professors were those whose campus and professional duties were also the heaviest, and who, therefore, had the least time to devote to

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[10]Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Extension Work of the University of Wisconsin," *University Extension* 1 (April 1892), 311-324; Curti and Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin*, p. 721.

[11]Turner to Adams, October 19, 1891.

[12]Turner, "The Extension Work of the University of Wisconsin," 318-319. See also, Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 88-100.

[13]Rosentreter, *The Boundaries of the Campus*, p. 30.

[14]See Chapter 6.

extension.[15] Turner himself wrote that " . . . the work is too wearing with my class work in the university and I shall not do any of it another year if I can possibly escape. I must have some time for *intension*."[16]

The university had little else to offer. The German conception of graduate students had not yet crossed the Atlantic. Americans of the 1890s did not differentiate between graduate students and undergraduates; the latter, of course, were young and untried, part innocent and part devil. An alternative solution was to employ full-time extension men on the university faculty. Although Turner believed that this would happen by the fall of 1892, such did not prove to be the case.[17]

Turner's statement that extension work was "astonishingly popular" is borne out by the statistics which the university forwarded to the commissioner of education for inclusion in his annual report.[18] Although no statistics appeared for 1892-93, in the following year 41 courses of 6 lectures each were presented, 10 in literature, 10 in science, 11 in economics, and 9 in history. Nine thousand people, or an average of about 225 per course, enrolled, but of this total, only 18 passed an examination. Curiously, the university granted 1 semester hour of credit for each 12-lecture course completed, but since it offered only 6-lecture courses, no one could possibly earn any extension credit. This was one way—not the most ethical, certainly—to solve the vexing problem of credit which developed whenever a university offered extension. During the year 1894-95, which marked the conclusion of the first phase of Wisconsin extension, the same 41 courses were available, but several 4-lecture courses also appeared.

Several similarities to extension beginnings in other places marked the first phases of Wisconsin extension. In the first phase of extension at Wisconsin, a tradition of adult education, the farmers' institutes, served as a base on which to build. Second, Herbert Baxter Adams was involved both directly through his appearance before the Historical Society, and indirectly through the efforts of Hopkins alumni teaching at Madison. Third, in an effort to rouse enthusiasm, extension leaders produced their most famous lectures and, in the process, created a problem for later years. In contrast to other institutions, however, Wisconsin developed no central office. It is not

[15] Turner, "The Extension Work of the University of Wisconsin," 321.

[16] Turner to Adams, January 18, 1892.

[17] Turner to Adams, December 29, 1891.

[18] United States Commissioner of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Years 1893-94; 1894-95* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 1893-94: I, p. 971; 1894-95: II, p. 2151.

clear just how the local centers organized without any advice or assistance from the university. Most likely, their officers wrote directly to a professor in whom they were interested, and then waited for his reply. With its loose structure, Wisconsin's program avoided the need for a central office, and for the administrative expense which such an office entailed. University extension was almost free, and this may be one reason why Chamberlain supported it until 1892, when he joined the national faculty exodus, led by William Rainey Harper, to the University of Chicago.

When word of extension reached Chicago, partisans in the city had no great university on which they could rely to organize it; as in Philadelphia, they created an independent society. Efforts at organization began in the winter of 1891, when President Henry Wade Rogers of Northwestern and William Rainey Harper, newly selected head of the University of Chicago, proposed that Chicagoans interested in extension sponsor a public meeting. On May 22, 1891, Edmund J. James, the recently elected president of the American Society, returned to his native state to make the principal address at the Newberry Library. He explained how extension functioned, and offered any assistance which the fledgling society might need. It was not until the following November that pledges of support were obtained from the faculties of the following universities and colleges: Northwestern, Chicago, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, Lake Forest, Beloit, and Wabash. The officers of the society included Franklin H. Head, president; Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice president; the noted municipal reformer, Franklin MacVeagh, treasurer; and the secretary of the Northwestern University settlement house in the predominantly immigrant 16th ward, Charles Zueblin, secretary. The earliest local centers appeared at Oak Park, the Newberry Library, and the Workers' Church, where the young sociologist Edward A. Ross taught a course in social problems.[19] During the first winter, the Chicago Society presented 9 courses of from 3 to 12 lectures.[20]

The most active local center during the brief existence of the Chicago Society was at the Newberry Library. William F. Poole, head librarian, known to students of late 19th-century American history for his periodical index, was its president. Classes met in the library auditorium, and Nathaniel M. Butler taught the first course in the spring of 1892. Members of the center paid $1.50 for each six-lecture course, while outsiders were charged $.50 per lecture. Eleven other courses offered during the spring of 1892 enrolled a total of 13,699, or 199 per lecture. One-half of the students remained for the class work, and 1,069 submitted weekly papers, although

[19] Charles Zueblin, "The Chicago Society for the Extension of University Teaching," *University Extension* 1 (March 1892), 273-275.

[20] United States Commissioner of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year, 1891-92* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 1209.

no examinations were given. According to a questionnaire distributed by the lecturers, over half the students claimed to have devoted between 10 and 50 hours per week to preparation for the weekly lecture. Although these statistics seem exaggerated, there is little doubt that this center's students were more serious and industrious than most of those enrolled elsewhere.[21] With the completion of the first year's work, the center's officers and advisory council mailed a postcard survey to every student, in order to plan the fall courses from a rational perspective. Members were to inform the officers whether they planned to take one or more courses, and whether they preferred topics in literature, history, or science.[22] Despite such careful planning, the Newberry center was forced to realign its priorities when it ceased to be a local center of the Chicago Society; by the autumn of 1892, Newberry was a center of the university extension division of the University of Chicago.

Under the direction of President William Rainey Harper, the University of Chicago was active in the field of university extension. During the 1880s Harper had served at Chautauqua, both as a lecturer at the summer sessions and as a correspondence teacher of great popularity. As early as 1886, the Yale professor had expressed his opinion that it was unwise for Chautauqua to develop an extension program on the English model, because the universities and colleges would shortly have their own extension departments.[23] Nonetheless, he had served with Adams on the committee which drew up the Chautauqua extension plan. Harper did not participate in the other early extension experiments; he was exceptionally busy with his teaching at Yale, his correspondence students, summers at Chautauqua, and the tricky negotiations with John D. Rockefeller over the proposed university in Chicago.

But in May 1891, with plans for Chicago fairly complete, Harper wrote an article for *Book News*, which then served as the house organ of the American Society, in which he extended the argument he had first made in 1886, that extension should be organically related to a university. Such a relationship, Harper felt, would benefit both parties. Extension would have financial security as a division of a large university, and the nagging problem of scarcity of lecturers would be solved by the regular university faculty serving as full-time or part-time lecturers. The university would

[21] Newberry Library Centre [*sic*] for University Extension, *Circulars, Syllabi, Etc., 1891-1897* (Chicago: n.p., n.d.); Manuscript "Report to the Library Trustees from the University Extension Advisory Board" bound with the above.

[22] Ibid.

[23] George Vincent to Adams, May 26, 1891.

benefit from good public relations, and professors would profit by contact with the nonacademic environment.[24]

Harper attempted to implement this extension ideology in his recruiting of faculty for the new university. He made an offer to Herbert Baxter Adams, who decided however to remain at the Hopkins.[25] Harper was more successful with Richard G. Moulton, who had come to the United States in the fall of 1890 to promote extension. American universities made a strong impression on Moulton; he admired the freedom which they allowed their faculty and decided that he would have to return to America occasionally to have his "hopes . . . renewed."[26] Harper succeeded in luring to Chicago England's foremost lecturer, the man who would be the backbone of the Chicago extension division.

Harper made an unsuccessful attempt to recruit Melvil Dewey for the position of university librarian. Dewey was New York State Librarian and a principal in securing the appropriation which financed extension in that state.[27] Harper was, however, successful in hiring two experienced extension lecturers: Edward Bemis, who had given the first extension course in the United States, and Charles Zueblin, secretary of the soon-to-be-defunct Chicago society. For the directorship of the extension division, moreover, Harper obtained the most experienced man available, George Henderson, general secretary of the American Society.[28] A stellar lineup of extension notables was ready to take the field in the fall of 1892.

In contrast to the rather haphazard and unorganized manner in which the University of Wisconsin had begun extension, the University of Chicago had an elaborate bureaucracy. Under the office of the director of extension were five departments: lecture study, class work, correspondence work, examinations, and library and publications. Lecture study was the name Chicago gave to extension on the English model. The secretary of the

[24]William Rainey Harper, "The University Organization in Relation to University Extension," *Book News* 9 (May 1891), 343-345.

[25]Richard G. Moulton to Adams, February 18, 1891.

[26]W. Fiddian Moulton, *Richard G. Moulton, A Memoir by His Nephew* (London: Epworth Press, 1926), p. 78; Moulton to William Pepper, December 21, 1891, December 21, 1891 (second letter) in vol. 4, p. 837 of William Pepper Papers, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania; Moulton to Pepper, February 25, 1891, in University of Pennsylvania, Archives General, "Lectures" folder.

[27]Melvil Dewey to William Rainey Harper, January 23, 1892 in Presidents' Papers, University of Chicago Archives, 1892-1925.

[28]*University Extension* 1 (May 1892), 363.

lecture study department fulfilled the same functions which the central office of the American Society provided in Philadelphia. Local extension committees, like the one at the Newberry Library, contacted the secretary to make arrangements for courses. The charges assessed the local centers were the highest in the country: $275 for a 12-lecture course, and for a 6-lecture course from $125 to $175, depending on the popularity of the lecturer. The department prepared a special scale for Moulton's courses—$500 for 12 lectures and $250 for six. The local center provided transportation and other expenses of the lecturer. Extension students worked either toward a certificate or for regular university credit. Through extension, one could earn no more than one-half of the credit required for a bachelor of arts, and no more than one-third of the credit toward advanced degrees. Nathaniel M. Butler, in charge of lecture study, listed his office hours as extending from 10 a.m. until midnight.[29] Extension administrators worked no 8-hour day!

The other departments of the extension division need only brief mention. The class work department offered regular university courses for full credit in the evenings at campus locations. The department of correspondence teaching, a favorite of Harper, presented to students who lived far from the Midway the opportunity to study under Chicago professors for full university credit. The examination department prepared and corrected examinations in the extension division, and the department of libraries and publications, primarily concerned with regular university activity, organized travelling libraries and published syllabi and promotional literature.

The minutes of the advisory board of the Newberry Library center reveal how the lecture study department carried on its relations with local centers. By September 15, 1892, the center had switched its allegiance to the extension division of the university. At a meeting of its six-member board, George Henderson and Nathaniel Butler outlined the fall courses. After courses had been agreed upon, the board elected George L. Hunter as secretary of the center, and decided to send flyers advertising the courses to every Chicago teacher. Moulton's course proved to be so popular that the board urged that he be reengaged as soon as possible, and then appointed a subcommittee to inspect two neighborhood churches as potential sites of future courses, since the library auditorium was inadequate. The center was prospering, as evidenced by the increase in the salary of the secretary to $75 per month, when there was only one course given.[30] The same was not true

[29] University of Chicago, *Annual Register* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892), pp. 173-199; University of Chicago, "Official Bulletin, No. 6, May 1893," p. 3, in President's Papers.

[30] Newberry Library Centre for University Extension, "Notebook," in Manuscript Room, Newberry Library, Chicago.

for the Chicago Society, devastated by the growth of the university; board members at the library voted not to contribute $50 to remedy the society's financial difficulties.

Lecture study classes were popular from the time that Moulton delivered the first one. In the first three years, 95 local centers associated with the university offered 340 courses to nearly 65,000 persons. Thirty-seven thousand remained for class after the lectures, but there are no statistics of how many took the examinations. Lecture study was also popular in small towns. During the first year (1892-93), 37 percent of the active centers were in Chicago; this declined to 25 percent the following year, and bottomed out at 20 percent in 1894-95.[31] An advertising campaign in rural newspapers, begun by Butler as early as 1892, perhaps accounts for this increase in rural and small town extension. Butler indicated to Harper that he undertook the campaign because he had become aware of some of the strange ideas about extension which were filtering through the hinterlands, especially that extension was an easy road to a university degree.[32]

The problem of the extension faculty's relationship with the regular university faculty persisted at Chicago for a number of years. According to the prospectus of 1892, four types of faculty taught in the extension division: the special extension faculty of the university (men who devoted at least half their time to extension teaching), regular university faculty who occasionally taught a course, faculty from other institutions who taught at local centers associated with the university, and graduate students who offered an extension course only with the permission of their major professors.[33] This system led to difficulties, especially in budgeting the salaries of faculty with appointments in both the extension division and the university proper, or faculty members who sought to shift the percentages of their work within each division.

Moulton's correspondence with Harper indicates these issues clearly. Moulton's great love was not university extension but English literature. In 1893 and 1894, he sent Harper a series of letters in which he first requested a chair in the English literature department, and later, the creation of a new department of "literature in English." The opposition of the literature department to Moulton's plan was intensified by his questionable academic credentials as an extension lecturer.[34] It is difficult to judge whether

[31]Walter A. Payne, "University Extension Work at the University of Chicago," *Citizen* 4 (July 1898), 103-106.

[32]Nathaniel Butler to Harper, September 23, 1892.

[33]"Official Bulletin No. 6," p. 5.

[34]Moulton to Harper, February 1, 1893; February 25, 1893; February 19, 1894.

Moulton desired the professional respectability a university chair would have provided. But one cannot assume that he wished to reject his extension career, for he pointedly informed Harper that, in three weeks of extension lecturing in Philadelphia for the American Society during his "vacation," he had earned $1,500, which equalled his university salary for a year.[35]

By 1895, Moulton began a second letter-writing campaign to convince Harper to grant him more on-campus and fewer extension courses. He mentioned the exhaustion produced by teaching 12 hours a week on campus and then travelling 28 hours a week to meet his extension students. He felt that he had been "as much shut out of the social life of the university as if I were an agent abroad."[36]

When Moulton came to Chicago, he devoted about three-quarters of his time to extension; by 1897 he had managed to whittle this down to about five-eighths; and in 1898, he requested that the time be reduced to one-half. "The travelling life I lead has told upon my health," he wrote Harper, and the extension courses kept him from the teaching of English, "which I came here to do." He insisted that he wanted to remain active in extension—"I shall never wish otherwise"—but "more and more of my work ought to be in the university proper."[37]

Edward Bemis further strained faculty-extension division relations. This academic roustabout, who had previously been at Vanderbilt, held views on the rights of workingmen, municipal franchises, and bimetallism which separated him from his more scholarly colleagues. Perhaps as important as his politics was Bemis's psychological state, for he seemed to be unhappy wherever he was, and showed signs of a persecution complex. Before the conclusion of his first year at Chicago, he told Herbert Baxter Adams: "I am getting tired, as I feared I would, of so much travel in connection with Uvs't'y Extension, while at the same time there seems to be a growing demand from outside the city. This quarter is all inside work and goes well."[38] A few weeks later, he told Adams that he might have been hasty in his desire to go elsewhere since "I like my work and it seems to like me." Nonetheless, "the travel necessary in fall and winter is more than I like."[39] In his annual April letter, Bemis revealed that he had sought more "inside

[35]Ibid.; Moulton to Harper, March 31, 1894.

[36]Moulton to Harper, October 12, 1895.

[37]Moulton to Harper, February 25, 1897; January 31, 1898; February 12, 1898.

[38]Edward Bemis to Adams, April 12, 1893.

[39]Bemis to Adams, April 28, 1893.

work" in the political economy department, but that the chairman, J. Lawrence Laughlin, who opposed him and anyone else from Johns Hopkins and was antagonistic to extension, worked against him among the department's students.[40]

Bemis's difficult situation worsened in the summer of 1894, when his speech in support of the Pullman strikers led to his dismissal from the university. His comments on the strike raised a furor, and, in an attempt to mollify the situation, Professors Albion Small and Nathaniel Butler issued a public statement that Bemis was primarily an extension lecturer, and not a regular university professor, and that the university was not responsible for his comments.[41] In a letter to Bemis explaining his dismissal, Harper insisted that the reason was not his political views but his incompetence as an extension lecturer. A letter to Harper from Francis W. Shepardson, who recalled a Bemis lecture on the controversial silver question, in which Bemis had said silver when he meant gold and vice versa, provides evidence to support Harper's charge of incompetence.[42] The Bemis case is one of a series of academic freedom cases of the socially troubled 1890s.[43] The department of political economy had dropped Bemis before he lost his job in the extension division, and his dismissal from the department can be viewed in part as an act of hostility on the chairman's part to university extension.

The difficulties which both Moulton and Bemis encountered in seeking more "inside work" were indications of the marginal position occupied by extension lecturers in the faculty arrangement at Chicago. Extension lecturers were men with divided loyalties, untrusted totally either by extension administrators or by university professors.

Despite internal bickerings however, the lecture study department of the university extension division was successful during its first 3 years, due in part to the failure of the University of Illinois to make a serious effort in the field. In 1892, the faculty at Urbana formed a committee on extension and affiliated with the "University Extension Society for Chicago and the Northwest" (the Chicago Society). In the spring of 1892, 1,000 students participated in 12 courses. That fall the university severed its connections

[40]Bemis to Adams, April 6, 1894; May 14, 1894.

[41]Albion Small and Nathaniel Butler, "A Statement by Professors Small and Butler," in Bemis file, President's Papers, University of Chicago.

[42]Harper to Bemis, September 2, 1894; Francis W. Shepardson to Harper, January 11, 1896.

[43]Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, *Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

with the Chicago Society and announced that 20 courses were planned, but the plan miscarried and the university quickly dropped extension. Winton Solberg contends that the university may have undermined extension by fostering intercollegiate athletics.[44]

Even if the University of Illinois had been successful in its extension experiment, it was doubtful that it could have competed with Chicago. Urbana was separated from Chicago by 150 miles. Officials of Chicago extension were aware of their advantage, although Shepardson felt that state universities were able to provide extension at lower costs than private schools. Shepardson warned that if Illinois developed a powerful extension program, the division at Chicago would be in jeopardy,[45] but Illinois was never able to arrange such a program.

The management of the extension division came under attack before the end of its first year, with charges of gross inefficiency resulting in loss of funds. Butler acknowledged that the charges, although exaggerated, were true, but insisted that other departments had faced similar problems as a result of confusion associated with the opening of the university. A second charge—that the extension division pretended to offer real university work—Butler declared to be totally false. In a spirited defense, he stated that extension offered no short cut, "no newly discovered royal road to learning." The division had limited goals and did what it could to spread ideas of liberal culture among the masses.[46]

The early experience at Chicago proved several points about the relationship between university extension, the university, and an independent society. First, an independent society such as that in Chicago was unable to compete with an extension division of a major university. Although its fees were higher, the university offered famous lecturers whom the independent society could not hire. (The opposite situation, however, prevailed in Philadelphia, for the University of Pennsylvania seemed to have no desire to develop its own extension department and was willing to cooperate with an independent society.) Second, the Chicago system showed that a university could incorporate extension on a large scale, notwithstanding disputes over salary, assignments, and faculty scepticism. Third, extension was often under attack over appropriations or new appointments. The large turnover of both administrative and

[44]Winton U. Solberg, *The University of Illinois, 1867-1894: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), pp. 370-371.

[45]Francis W. Shepardson to Harper, November 26, 1895. For later conflict between the extension programs of Chicago and Wisconsin, see Chapter 5.

[46]Butler to Harper, May 16, 1893.

instructional personnel during Chicago's first three years indicated that life in the extension division was not secure.[47] If Harper had not made a determined effort to recruit experienced persons, the experiment would have been a failure, for there was opposition from recalcitrant faculty, and resistance to extension was increased by the depression of the middle 90s, and by the World's Fair (an adult education project far more entertaining than the most felicitously delivered extension lecture). Despite all these factors, extension prospered.

Kansas seemed an unlikely place to find university extension taking root in the 1890s. In a state seared by drought, suffering depression, and split by political rivalries, the University of Kansas produced a modest program. As early as 1867, the Kansas faculty had declared the willingness of its members to lecture off campus to interested groups, and by 1890 there was a tradition of off-campus activity. In the winter of 1891, Professors Frank Blackmar, James Canfield, and six of their advanced students, joined to present a course of lectures on current economic problems and the silver question to members of the Farmer's Alliance at Vineland. They could not have selected a topic more certain of success, and Blackmar records that "much discussion was aroused."[48]

The success at Vineland convinced the sponsors that extension was feasible in Kansas, and eight university faculty members organized a "School of University Extension," with courses available with or without credit. At the undergraduate level, a student who attended a 12-lecture course, completed the assigned reading, participated in class discussions, and passed the examination, received university credit, with nine courses equaling 1 year of university residence. A bachelor of arts who completed nine courses earned a master's degree. The price differential between Kansas and Chicago paralleled salary differences: faculty members earned only $100 for a 12-lecture course. A committee of five, including Chancellor F. H. Snow and Blackmar, made arrangements with local centers across the state.[49] Blackmar, yet another of the ubiquitous students of Adams, wrote: "Our Chancellor is too much of a scientist to take strong hold of such a movement. Although we have organized at the university the work will not be pushed to great extent on account of lack of funds."[50] Correct about the

[47] The Annual Register of the university for the first 5 years indicates the high degree of turnover.

[48] Frank W. Blackmar, "University Extension in the Southwest," *University Extension* 1 (March 1892), 278-294.

[49] Frank T. Stockton, *The Pioneer Years of University Extension at the University of Kansas* (Pamphlet) (Lawrence: University of Kansas Extension Division, 1956), p. 7.

[50] Blackmar to Adams, October 1, 1891.

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financial difficulties, Blackmar was wrong about Snow's commitment to extension.

The Kansas faculty were very anxious to preserve their independence and instructed the members of the committee "not to enter into any combination with any other institution in connection with this business."[51] In spite of this prohibition, Blackmar inquired of Adams: "Would you tell me if it would be of advantage to a Western local association to unite with the Am. Assn. of Philadelphia? if so, what advantage?"[52] Kansas went its independent way, but Blackmar had asked the right question; there was little advantage that the university could obtain from affiliation with the American Society. In return for membership, the Society offered nothing but promotional literature, and in Kansas the movement did not require this for the professors acted as promoters.

Kansas City took the lead; E. H. Allen, president of the Board of Trade, organized a local extension center. Enthusiasm was rampant, and in many courses one-third of the students enrolled for credit. Particularly popular were courses such as chemistry and electricity, for which the professor brought scientific apparatus for demonstrations. As elsewhere, the middle class composed the majority of the audience. In one of his courses, Blackmar identified the major occupational groups in order of descending strength—lawyers, teachers, students, engineers, and doctors. The single exception to middle class monopoly was a Topeka course arranged for its members by the Trades and Labor Assembly.[53]

Why did the University of Kansas decide to offer extension courses? The Kansas faculty were determined that a western university must not fall behind the latest innovations sweeping the more prestigious eastern universities. (Of course, eastern schools proved unresponsive to extension and left it to independent societies, but extension supporters in Kansas were either unaware of this or did not care.) The student newspaper editorialized that the university had "taken the lead among western institutions in this matter."[54] The University of Missouri, the only potential rival, proved to be uninterested, and Kansans exulted: "The poor old University of Missouri has let forth with an unearthly wail against the university extension society of Kansas City because it is connected with the

[51]"Minutes of the Faculty, September 27, 1891," quoted in Stockton, p. 7.

[52]Blackmar to Adams, October 1, 1891.

[53]Stockton, *The Pioneer Years*, pp. 8-14. See also clipping from *Kansas City Star* (n.d.) in Blackmar-Adams correspondence.

[54]University *Weekly Courier*, August 1, 1892, quoted in Stockton, p. 14.

University of Kansas. The progressiveness of the University of Kansas is too much for the University of Missouri."[55] Extension was also a means to win the support of the people who elected the legislators who appropriated university funds. Extension was a means of advertising that the university belonged to the public.[56]

As extension developed in Kansas, it faced a complement of problems, some common to all extension ventures, a few peculiar to Kansas. Because of the condition of the economy, a great many people were simply unable to afford courses, and conditions grew worse in the 1890s; mortgages fell due, and drought forced farmers to retreat from lands occupied during the 1880s. Extension also retreated to the principal towns and cities. There was also the problem of funding lecturers. Regular university students were disturbed that professors were absent from the campus to conduct their extension courses. The Students' Journal wished "success to the work of university extension provided it does not take the professors from their classes in the university."[57] By 1894-95, atrophy began to set in at the university and among the centers. Reports of "very slim attendance" and "declining financial situations" contributed to the disenchantment which had already begun among the extension faculty.[58]

By 1898, extension in Kansas was dead. The problems discussed above contributed to its demise, but demography was also an important factor. With a scarcity of cities or small towns and a small population generally, Kansas had few attributes to support extension after the first bloom faded. Extension constantly faced the problem of attracting new students to join the faithful few who attended courses yearly; this was a problem impossible to solve in Kansas. Also contributing to the demise of English-style extension was the manner in which the university had taken it up, more in response to extraneous pressures such as eastern models and inter-university rivalry than from a sincere commitment. At Chicago, this commitment was manifest in the structural union of extension and university; at Wisconsin, in an ideology of the university in service to the people. As early as 1892, Blackmar predicted that the continuation of Kansas extension depended on the creation of a division equal to other parts of the university.[59]

[55] University *Weekly Courier*, October 23, 1891, quoted in Stockton, p. 15.

[56] University *Weekly Courier*, quoted in Stockton, p. 14.

[57] *Students' Journal*, October 6, 1893, quoted in Stockton, p. 23.

[58] *Lawrence Daily Journal*, October 31, 1894, quoted in Stockton, p. 25.

[59] Blackmar, "University Extension in the Southwest," 293.

The most important characteristic of university extension in the West in the 1890s was the control exerted by universities, and the concomitant rejection of the independent society. Although the University of Wisconsin failed to provide an organizational framework for extension, the local centers made no attempt to band together and form an independent society. In Chicago, the independent society yielded to the university's extension division, and local centers quickly transferred their allegiance. In Kansas, the faculty directed that the extension program must not affiliate with any other organization. The universities cherished their autonomy and their freedom to arrange programs, to draw up credit requirements, to offer as much or as little extension as they wished. Serving a community more pluralistic than any independent society, the university offered both cultural and agricultural extension.

The triumph of the university was inevitable. The voluntary society was a revered American institution with great power to accomplish its goals, but the university of the Middle West was a more dynamic institution. No longer concerned about denominationalism, and equipped with laboratories and scientifically trained faculty, universities like Chicago, Wisconsin, and Kansas seized extension as a right, and an occasional duty. Lawrence Veysey notes that three conceptions of the American university were prevalent in the 1890s: the university as a research center, as servant of the people, and as a source of liberal culture. None of these conceptions was antithetical to the goals and methods of university extension. If the university was a social investment, then extension classes were short-term dividends as well as stockholders' meetings. The American Society might have provided an umbrella for all societies and universities, but as early as the National Conference it was clear that the western universities were not going to join with the American Society. The decision was not so much a rejection of the Philadelphia group as a desire to go it alone.

SEVEN FAT YEARS, 1892-1899

The years between 1892 and 1899 marked the high point of the first wave of American extension activity. During these "seven fat years," extension, already established in both the East and Midwest, found acceptance among the educational community, along with the kindergarten and the graduate school. The experiment proved durable, survived, and organized stable societies in Chicago, Wisconsin, and Philadelphia.

Extension won support from some of its earlier critics. The two foremost pedagogical periodicals, *Education* and *Education Review*, edited by Nicholas Murray Butler, had previously been unenthusiastic to the idea of extension; in 1891 the editors of *Education* felt that extension was a uniquely English institution which was unsuited for America, and they waited for the "awful second year" when extension would have to move beyond the stage of "fad." When the second year passed, however, and the movement appeared stronger than ever, the editors revised their opinion. They declared extension to be "one of the most significant signs of the times" and compared its classes to the gatherings of ancient Greeks in the market place, to discuss the latest paintings or sculpture.[1] Butler praised extension as a means of adult education, while simultaneously denouncing its overzealous advocates who believed it a "substitute for a college, or even an academic training." Butler favored the New York scheme of keeping extension distinct from any university, to avoid confusion about the work offered.[2]

In Philadelphia, the American Society entered upon a period of general prosperity. Blessed with its wealthy and elite board of directors and talented and dedicated officers, drawing on its staff lecturers and prominent English visitors to carry the teaching burden, and attracting both a nucleus of serious students and a large number of the merely curious, the Society solidified its position as the most noteworthy independent agency. It conducted a summer meeting, and established a training school for lecturers.

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[1] *Education* 12 (April 1891), 508; 13, (September 1892), 48.

[2] *Educational Review* 3 (March 1893), 297; 3 (April 1892), 407.

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Though not so prosperous as its eastern neighbor, midwestern extension progressed steadily through these seven years. The University of Chicago continued at about the same level as in the early 1890s and faced the same sort of problems, chiefly those revolving around the relationship between the extension division and the university proper. At the University of Wisconsin, Jerome Raymond zealously promoted extension during his 3 years as director.

The Philadelphia, Chicago, and Wisconsin centers continued to be the largest and strongest in the nation, and each developed its own program. There were, however, occasional constructive meetings. The Second National Conference, held late in 1892, differed in tone and spirit from the first. Cooperation was also apparent at the University Extension Congress at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, and at the International Extension Congress in London the following year. Leaders from all three societies drew together in response to attacks on extension. Some time after 1894, the attacks ceased; either the detractors' doubts disappeared, or they realized that they could not stop the movement.

The American Society began its third year, 1893, with the feeling that "the time of uncertainty" was past, that university extension was destined to become a "permanent feature in American life."[3] Centers formed in the heat of early enthusiasm did not disband but requested more courses than in the previous year. The American Society was at this time the principal force behind extension, through its incidental papers, syllabi and handbooks, journal, sponsorship of a national conference, and actual course work in the Philadelphia area.[4] The fear that university extension was a fad "had been dissipated by the results" of 4 years of work. The organization employed a number of staff lecturers, and the English visitors had proven overwhelmingly popular.[5] The board of directors declared in 1896 that "no other body in the United States" had "done as much university extension work" as theirs, nor met with as much success.[6]

During the year 1891-92, 325 courses of lectures were presented, 125 through the American Society, to a total enrollment of nearly 25,000

[3]"The Outlook," *University Extension* 2 (November 1892), 129-133.

[4]"What Has the American Society Accomplished?" *University Extension* 2 (December 1892), 161-170; Edmund J. James, *First Annual Report to the Corporation and Members of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1893), pp. 5-13.

[5]Edmund J. James, *Review of the Work of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching for the Four Years 1891-1894* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1895), *passim*.

[6]"Report of the Board of Directors," *Citizen* 2 (December 1896), 347-348.

Americans. During the following year, when 418 courses were offered, Chicago took the lead for the first time, sponsoring 125 courses, surpassing by 17 the total number offered by the American Society. The total enrollment increased over 200 percent, to 58,000; Chicago led with 22,592 students, while the American Society had 18,772. Since the statistics for this year fail to include the University of Wisconsin, the national total was substantially higher.

By 1893-94, the United States education commissioner reported statistics for only the larger centers. The American Society in this year sponsored 144 courses, Chicago 130, and Wisconsin 41.[7] (See Table I for details about courses provided by the American Society during its first 10 years.)

A comparison with the extension movement in England indicates that after only 3 years, the Americans approached the English in total attendance. During the year 1892-93, the three English centers offered 710 courses for about 51,000 persons, while in the United States, the total effort was 408 courses for 56,601 persons.[8] Thus, by the middle 90s, the Americans had attracted a larger audience than the parent movement. Moreover, whereas in England three centers had a tight control on the work, in the United States the American Society and the University of Chicago had reached parity, and a large number of other institutions offered from two to six courses annually. This success spotlighted the value of voluntarism and decentralization.

Of great importance in evaluating these efforts are the subject areas of extension. Theoretically, extension lecturers could offer a course on any topic, but practically, the curriculum was limited to somewhat popularized versions of college courses. Since people attended only courses in which they had an interest, courses on abstruse or erudite subjects usually failed. The most successful lecturers were men who selected subjects of greatest interest.

For the entire decade, the breakdown of curriculum in the American Society is as follows: 272 history courses on 75 subjects, 378 literature courses on 60 subjects, 143 social science courses on 30 subjects, 67 natural science courses on 18 subjects, and 16 philosophy courses on 6 subjects.[9] (See Table II.)

[7] U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year, 1893-1894*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 1, p. 956.

[8] *Report of the Proceedings of the University Extension Congress, London, 1894* (London: P. S. King & Son, 1894), p. 40; U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1892-1893*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 2, pp. 1613-1615.

[9] American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, *Ten Years' Report of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1901), pp. 23-29. (Hereinafter referred to as *Ten Years' Report*.)

TABLE 1

The Courses of the American Society, 1890-1900

Year	Number of Courses	Lectures Delivered	Lecture Attendance	Class Attendance	Certificates
1890-91	42	290	55,000	12,000	196
1891-92	121	721	123,000	25,000	579
1892-93	107	681	110,000	24,000	397
1893-94	112	680	97,000	43,000	220
1894-95	126	745	120,000	36,000	99
1895-96	104	618	127,000	44,000	199
1896-97	79	469	72,000	25,000	67
1897-98	79	446	108,000	24,000	139
1898-99	89	497	131,000	21,000	143
1899-1900	95	559	136,000	58,000	29
	954	5,643	1,085,000	310,000	2,068

Source. American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, *Ten Years Report of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1901), p. 12.

TABLE II

Course Topics, 1890-1900

Year	1891-92	1892-93	1895-96	1896-97	1897-98
Literature	53	40	21	3	24
History	26	51	24	44	28
Political Science	7	3	3	1	5
Economics	20	11	4	6	0
Fine Arts	0	2	4	9	17
Natural Science	13	16	3	7	1
Other	2	10	6	2	0

Source. "The Courses and Centers of 1891-92," *University Extension* 2 (July 1892), 7-20; "The Courses and Centers of 1892-93," *University Extension* 2 (June 1893), 394; "Lectures—Autumn, 1895; Winter, 1896," *Citizen* 1 (January 1896), 269; "Lecture Courses Delivered During the Year 1896-97," *Citizen* 3 (May 1897), 77; "Lecture Courses Delivered During the Academic Year, 1897-98," *Citizen* 4 (June 1898), 95-96.

Early in the 1890s, literature and history were favorites among extension students in Philadelphia. The most popular subjects were topics in 19th-century literature, particularly the English Romantic and Victorian poets. Novels and drama were never popular. American literature was not a frequent choice, although American history was more popular than other history. Extension students seem to have been most interested in the period between the conclusion of the Revolution and the coming of the Civil War. Perhaps because of the proximity of historical sites in Philadelphia, or because of the centennial of the events of the 1790s, character studies of Washington and Franklin were very popular, just as they were on the Chautauqua platform.

Literature, however, fell behind history toward the middle of the decade, either because of changing student preferences or because of the arrival of English lecturers, such as W. Hudson Shaw and Hilaire Belloc, whose specialties were English and French history. Then, in 1895, the officers of the Society initiated a concerted drive to offer courses in civics at reduced

rates or without charge to the poor or black residents of the city. This was part of a broader effort to use extension to educate "responsible" citizens, an effort which was to fail. Late in the decade, courses in classical music were also provided, under the inspiration of Thomas Whitney Surette, a concert pianist. During the seven years after 1893, Surette taught 67 such courses in seaboard cities from Richmond to New York, and in nearly every case accompanied them by a concert of chamber music or piano sonatas. For many students, it was their first classical concert. Surette also made use of the stereopticon to present composers' pictures, scenes from their home life, and facsimiles of their scores. His purpose, he declared, was "to bring into people's lives acquaintance with the great things in art," to supplement what they might learn from others about the great things in history and science.[10]

Extension programs made no great curricular advances and attempted no daring experiments. Since most of the people who attended the classes never attended college, they wanted to study subjects commonly found in college rather than anything new. The popular extension courses at the University of Chicago during 1893-94 parallel courses given by the American Society: literature first, followed by history, sociology, and natural science.[11]

The lecturer stood at the center of the extension system. The American Society never experienced difficulty in locating a corps of lecturers. The staff lecturer, a full-time employee of the Society, bore the greatest load. The Society also established a seminary to train lecturers, and vigorously recruited recent college graduates for a career in this field.

Extension leaders assumed that special qualifications were required to be a successful lecturer, and that not all college teachers were well advised to consider this as a career or sideline. Edmund J. James identified three principal requisites for a lecturer: specialized knowledge of some subject matter, interest in and knowledge of educational ideas, and acquaintance with the technical details of university extension.[12] James thought the lecturer should be a constant publicist of education in general and of extension in particular, and should impart to the class and to the local

[10] "Report of Mr. Surette on his Course in Music at Kensington," *Citizen* 2 (December 1896), 329.

[11] U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1893-94*, 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 1, p. 194.

[12] Edmund J. James, "A New Career for College Men," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* 7 (June 1893), 578-580.

committee a fiery enthusiasm for all things educational.[13] James' successor, Charles A. Brinley, declared that "without enthusiasm for the work, a good presence, good manners, a fairly good style in speaking, knowledge, and a disposition to encourage reading and study on the part of the audience, even a clever man will not succeed."[14] His chances to earn a "good salary," Brinley continued, depended "on the ability of the lecturer to interest his audience and to conduct successful courses so that he may be in demand."[15] Many agreed that "such men are extremely rare."[16] James and Brinley walked a very thin line between two types of qualities, one revolving around academic background, knowledge, and scholarly competence and the other centering on personality, stage presence, and enthusiasm. Success depended more on the second set of qualities, and the pendulum swung in the direction of popularity rather than scholarship.

The successful extension lecturer faced pedagogical problems quite different from those confronting college professors. His students came of their own volition and could leave just as easily. The lecturer had no control over the amount of work his students did and had no disciplinary power. He dealt with adults, not adolescents, and he was forewarned not to adopt a professorial mien with adults who were every bit as knowledgeable in their occupations as he was in his.[17]

To locate men possessing the necessary qualifications but not discouraged by the difficulties, Edmund James made recruiting trips to universities. In an article published at commencement time in 1893, James outlined the advantages of a lecturing career. They included teaching adults rather than "half-baked boys," as well as public recognition which often led to a school superintendancy, a college professorship, or a university presidency. There was also quick promotion, rising salaries, assured social position, and opportunities for self-cultivation and worthwhile work. "There has never been an opportunity in all history that could compare with this to preach a sound educational doctrine to the masses."[18]

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[13] Edmund J. James, "The University Extension Lecturer," *University Extension* 1 (February 1892): 250-260.

[14] Charles Brinley to Herbert Baxter Adams, January 8, 1898, in Herbert Baxter Adams manuscripts, Johns Hopkins University Library.

[15] Ibid.

[16] *Citizen* 3 (July 1897): 103.

[17] Edmund J. James, "The University Extension Lecturer," 207-217; James, "A New Career for College Men," 579.

[18] Ibid.

To train its lecturers, the Philadelphia Society established the university extension seminary in the fall of 1892. The curriculum included the history of the movement, lecturing techniques, preparation of syllabi, the conduct of class work, and the writing and grading of examinations. A critical component was observation of an extension course under the guidance of the instructor. In the spring term, each student prepared and delivered a course of lectures which not only demonstrated his ability but also produced revenue to finance his year of study. Since work at the seminary did not consume the student's full attention, many expected to continue their graduate work at a university near Philadelphia. The faculty included extension administrators and lecturers as well as educators, e.g., James MacAlister, president of Drexel Institute, Charles DeGarmo, president of Swarthmore, and Isaac Sharpless, president of Haverford.[19]

The success or failure of the seminary depended on its ability to attract able college graduates. When it met for the first time on October 1, 1892, in the offices of the American Society at the YMCA building, there were 10 students present to hear the opening address by James on the model extension lecture.[20] Of the 10 students, however, only M. G. Brumbaugh showed continuing interest in extension, while the other nine never taught an extension course. The students' loyalties were divided between graduate education and preparation for an extension career, and most opted to concentrate on graduate education.

With the seminary's failure, the American Society turned to the staff lecturer (a full-time employee who held no university position) and the English visitor. The Society was open to charges that these men were nothing but glorified lyceum speakers, and that in their hands the name of "university extension" became a paradox. Yet, in 1898, despite continuing criticism, the directors of the American Society stated that men who gave their entire time to university extension work were "granting equal scholarship and facility in speaking to an audience," more successfully than those who lectured only occasionally.[21]

During the 1890s, 15 men who served as staff lecturers taught nearly one-half of all courses the Society organized. Three of these men—Belloc, Shaw, and Richard Moulton—had come from England, but the others came from a variety of backgrounds. Martin G. Brumbaugh was a graduate of the seminary; Lyman P. Powell came to the Society after an unsuccessful effort at extension work in Wisconsin; in 1897, two Johns Hopkins

[19] "The University Extension Seminary," *University Extension* 1 (May 1892), 356-362.

[20] "The University Extension Seminary," *University Extension* 2 (November 1892), 517-518.

[21] "Annual Report of the Board of Directors, 1897," *Citizen* 3 (January 1898), 267-268.

students, Frederick H. Sykes and Clyde B. Furst, joined the staff as lecturers in literature.[22] The life of the staff lecturer was seldom easy, and at times dangerous, as Henry W. Rolfe discovered when, on January 21, 1893, he was severely injured in a train wreck while returning to Philadelphia from a course at Williamsport, Pennsylvania.[23]

What drew a man to this career can be observed in the case of Powell. After receiving his bachelor of arts degree, he taught three years in a Delaware high school and thought he might have been elected principal had it not been for his "beardless face." He envied the position of his brother who was "rapidly acquiring a fortune as a lawyer in Kansas City." Powell realized that he had no love of the law but a great love of history and a sense that he was a good teacher.[24] In the fall of 1890, he returned to graduate school, the following year accompanied Richard T. Ely to the University of Wisconsin, and subsequently joined the American Society in 1893. Powell immediately took to the life of the lecturer,[25] and as a deeply religious man, he prepared articles on extension for the *Christian Union*, and spoke on extension to church groups on his only day off. Eventually, he gave up extension for the ministry, leaving educational evangelism for religious evangelism.[26]

In order to serve a wide area, staff lecturers formed circuits of 6 or 12 towns to which they travelled as salesmen of culture. It was a life of train travel, hotels, and a considerable amount of loneliness, with hard work and long hours. A typical circuit was that travelled by W. C. Robinson, a staff lecturer in literature, who personally presented 109 courses, or about 11 percent of the American Society's total. Robinson's circuit for his course on the English Romantic Poets included six southern Pennsylvania towns. On Monday he arrived in York, where the local committee had attracted a crowd of over 200 for his initial lecture. After spending the night there, he took the morning train 29 miles to Harrisburg, where in the evening he lectured to over 450 persons, including Governor Patterson. At Harrisburg, his mail box was so full of students' paper work that the post office requested him to have it delivered to his hotel. His 26-mile trip from Harrisburg to Lebanon, where he lectured on Wednesday, was underwritten by wealthy citizens and free of charge to him. The audience included "the best people of the city and also . . . many working men and

[22]*Ten Years Report*, pp. 16-21; *University Extension* 2 (February 1893) 250; "University Extension News and Announcements," *Citizen* 3 (July 1897), 124.

[23]*University Extension* 2 (February 1893), 249.

[24]Lyman P. Powell to Herbert Baxter Adams, July 16, 1890.

[25]Powell to Adams, May 6, 1893.

[26]Ibid. See also, Powell to Adams, February 22, 1901.

women." Robinson spent Thursdays in Lancaster, where he lectured to over 300 persons, receiving assistance from professors at Franklin and Marshall College. On Friday, 250 persons awaited him in Columbia, and then he travelled 52 miles to Gettysburg, where he lectured on Saturday evening. Robinson remained there for the weekend, returning to York on Monday morning, to begin again this routine, which he repeated six times.

Each week Robinson lectured to an average of 1,600 people, and read and graded 278 papers. One hundred forty five students opted for the examination, and all but 18 passed. Every center on the circuit paid Robinson $146.26, $120 of which was the fee for the lectures, and $26.26 expenses for the six nights spent in each town. Robinson concluded the circuit with the observation that "lecturing in six centers every week is decidedly too much for any man to undertake." He felt that five courses, with two days off, would be a proper teaching load.[27] But his hopes were not realized, for the next year he took on three 12-town circuits in western Pennsylvania, travelling almost 20,000 miles before the lectures were concluded. In one year, he delivered 240 lectures to about 33,000 persons, and corrected an average of 368 papers per week. When not correcting papers or riding trains, he spent daylight hours publicizing extension by visiting newspaper editors, ministers, and school board members. "In every community," Robinson declared, "it is those with some education and who are hungering for more who patronize us most," just as it was the upright who were the most regular in church attendance.[28]

Circuits fell out of favor toward the close of the decade, as the American Society increasingly confined its work to the vicinity of Philadelphia, and as lecturers realized that there were easier ways to make a living. There was something romantic about the disappearing circuit "rider," who was as much on fire with love of education as the circuit riders of the early 19th-century were with love of God. But there was no way that a life of hotels, railroad coaches, and small town people could compare or compete with a university chair.

Sharing the burden with the staff lecturer was the English visitor, a man experienced in English extension, who came to the United States for the purpose of lecturing. Between 1890 and 1900, seven such men lectured for the Philadelphia Society, including Richard Moulton, Hilaire Belloc, Graham Wallas, Michael Sadler, Halford J. Mackinder, and W. Hudson Shaw. Together, they presented 125 courses, or about 14 percent of the total.[29]

[27] W. C. Robinson, "The Circuit," *University Extension* 1 (May 1892), 344-350.

[28] W. C. Robinson, "A Year's Work in the Extension Field," *University Extension* 4 (July 1894), 7-18.

[29] *Ten Years Report*, p. 22.

The greatest and most frequent visitor was Shaw, an Anglican clergyman whom Michael Sadler had convinced to become a full-time extension lecturer in 1885. Shaw's courses were on English history and literature, with a specialty in the Elizabethan period. On his first visit to the United States, over 1,000 persons enrolled in his course at Association Local Center in Philadelphia. His colleague, Richard Moulton, recognized Shaw's ability and urged William Rainey Harper to employ him at Chicago: "He has made a greater sensation in Philadelphia than had ever been known in that city," Moulton wrote, and declared him "the most magnetic personality I have ever come across."[30] Undoubtedly, any English lecturer added an exotic touch to an extension class, bringing with him the mystique of Oxford or Cambridge, and providing general Anglophilic audiences with another reason for attending. To courses on English history and literature, he added (even by his accent) a touch of legitimacy which an American lecturer could never match.

Information about extension students is rarely available. The student had no occasion to contact the central extension office as student dealings were directly with the local center. Any communication between the student and the lecturer was probably oral, before or after the class. Lecturers made few comments about their students other than to record their numbers. Who they were, or why they attended are moot questions.[31] Lecturers note that women were overrepresented in the classes in proportion to their numbers in the population. Women faced educational handicaps throughout the century and naturally seized the opportunity to advance themselves through university extension. The popularity of courses in Romantic literature suggests a feminine influence. Photographs of the most popular lecturers show them to have been exceptionally handsome men. We know even less about why particular students attended. Lecturers and officials assumed that students attended out of love for learning. Some were no doubt merely curious; some enrolled because extension was a fad; and some went at the insistence of a spouse, relative, or friend. But as each local center developed, it came to count upon a nucleus of serious students, men and women who sought to get as much out of the course as possible. To facilitate this, they generally formed a students' association.

Like the staff lectureships, the students' association was an English import. A voluntary organization, the members met weekly to read papers and compare notes, and to become acquainted with others of similar intellectual interests. As a "pure democracy" free from all social

[30]Richard Moulton to William Rainey Harper, February 6, 1897, May 25, 1903, in President's Manuscripts, 1892-1925, University of Chicago Library. For Shaw see also: *University Extension* 2 (February 1893), 251; *Citizen* 1 (April 1895), 46; *Citizen* 4 (August 1898), 125.

[31]For a longer discussion of the role of workingmen in University Extension see Chapter 8.

distinctions, the association provided a forum "where thoughtful people [could] discuss a worthy subject unimpaired by unnecessary social formalities."[32] Association members met either before or after the weekly lecture, to prepare for it or discuss its implications, and members frequently prepared special papers for group discussion. The students' associations in Philadelphia formed a conference in 1896 and exchanged information on useful techniques.[33]

As the proportion of serious students increased, the American Society split over the arrangement of courses and the difficulty of subject matter. This dispute first flared at a joint meeting of the Society's directors and the representatives of local centers, on February 8, 1896. Since the decline in local centers was evident, Edward Devine argued that the Society should strengthen the existing centers rather than found new ones. He recommended a greater degree of sequence in courses, so that something approximating a curriculum existed. Hudson Shaw, on the contrary, contended that this policy would cause extension to fail to reach all classes of people.[34] In arguing for quantity over quality, Shaw was contending against one of the principal aims of extension: to avoid becoming a series of unrelated lecture courses, as were the lyceum and Chautauqua.

Debate resumed at another general meeting in March 1897 during which Graham Wallas urged greater specialization in subject matter, more sequence in course work, and affiliation between the American Society, the Philadelphia Art School, and the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. Disagreeing with Wallas, Hilaire Belloc urged that extension's purpose was to relate university education to the masses in a general way. If extension courses became too specialized, or dependent on prior or subsequent courses, centers would soon lose most of their students, or ultimately turn into a college.[35]

Courses, lectures, and students were one aspect of the extension system, but of equal importance was the bureaucracy. At its heart was the local center and committee, which took the initiative in extension work. The number of centers grew rapidly during the first part of the decade. (See Table III.) There was a significant decline by 1897, and then a period of relative stability.

[32] "Students' Associations as a Factor in University Extension in America," *Citizen* 3 (November 1897), 219.

[33] "The Conference of Students' Associations," *Citizen* 2 (June 1896), 146-147.

[34] *Citizen* 2 (March 1896), 30.

[35] "Report of the University Extension Conference," *Citizen* 3 (April 1897), 48-49.

TABLE III

Local Centers of the American Society, 1890-1900

Year	Number	Year	Number
1890-91	21	1895-96	85
1891-92	60	1896-97	57
1892-93	65	1897-98	61
1893-94	76	1898-99	60
1894-95	91	1899-1900	65

Source. *Ten Years Report*, p. 12.

Behind these lay the rapid growth of extension, from Philadelphia to the outlying areas, which reached its acme in the middle of the decade. Begun in an urban environment, extension was unable to sink deep roots in the hinterlands, and soon retreated to the vicinity of Philadelphia. The failure in the small towns of Pennsylvania was attributable to the same factor which led to the demise of Kansas extension: the necessity to attract new people each term to complement the core of dedicated students.

Many local centers in Pennsylvania were ephemeral institutions; 50 percent succeeded in sponsoring only a single course before going out of existence. Because they were controlled by rapidly changing local committees, little record of them remains. Shaw, however, found the condition of most centers in both Pennsylvania and New Jersey excellent; not only was the attendance large but there was also a significant increase in numbers of students who remained for class work.[36]

Between the local center and the general extension society, the plan called for no intermediaries, but in 1897 the local centers of New Jersey organized a state association to aid the Philadelphia Society in the formation of circuits, and to provide local committees with particular advice about day-to-day problems. This association met every spring, its officers more

[36] "Mr. Hudson Shaw's Report," *Citizen* 2 (June 1896), 144-145.

frequently, always under the watchful eye of a representative of the parent society.[37]

The officers, board of directors, and members of the American Society set policy for the society, tided it over financial difficulties, and served as its public spokesmen. During the 90s, there was relative instability among the officers. William Pepper served as president from 1890 until April 1891, when Edmund J. James succeeded him. James held the office for 5 years, and was replaced by Charles Brinley, the first nonacademic person to hold the presidency. The important position of secretary changed hands four times. George Henderson moved to the extension division of the University of Chicago in April 1892 and Edmund James's younger brother, George F. James, served until December 1893. Edward T. Devine served as secretary from January 1894, to September 1896, leaving to work with the New York Charity Organization Society, and to accept the editorship of its publication, *Survey*. John Nolen succeeded Devine, and served well into the 20th century. The exception to this executive instability was in the post of treasurer, which Frederick B. Miles held throughout the decade.[38]

William Pepper "virtually gave his life to the university [of Pennsylvania] and other civic projects in the city," and a close friend referred to him as the city's leading citizen.[39] As president of the University, Pepper began the planning through which the university became one of the leading schools in the country. He helped make it fashionable to contribute financially to the university, and he received donations of up to $14 million from such elite Philadelphia families as the Whartons, Leas, Jaynes, and Harrisons. His home at 1826 Spruce was a favorite meeting place of the officers of the American Society. When Pepper saw that the Society had weathered the first year, he resigned in favor of James.[40]

James brought to the presidency a different perspective. A child of the middle class and a noted scholar in economics and administration, he attempted to improve the efficiency of the central office. In a diary for the year 1894, he gave some indication of the time which the extension

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[37] *Citizen* 3 (October 1897) 195; *Citizen* 3 (January 1898) 268; "Second Conference of the New Jersey Centers of University Extension," *Citizen* 4 (April 1898), 93.

[38] *Ten Years Report*, p. 35.

[39] E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), p. 323; Justus C. Strawbridge to Mrs. William Pepper, July 30, 1898, vol. 9, p. 1736 of the William Pepper Papers, the University of Pennsylvania Libraries.

[40] See Chapter 4.

presidency consumed. During the height of the season, James spent most afternoons at the extension office after his morning classes at the university. Sundays were frequently taken up with lectures promoting extension, while during the evenings he met with the board or attended courses.[41] This heavy schedule prompted James to attempt to resign the presidency in June 1893, but the board refused to accept his resignation. He was relieved of his arduous but well-paying position ($3,500 per year) when, on New Year's Day 1895, Provost Charles C. Harrison informed him that his services at the university were no longer required. James found a position in both the regular and extension divisions at Chicago, and he left Philadelphia late in 1895. There was a "general and keen regret" when he left, but a feeling that "popular education in the West will have a fresh and lasting impulse."[42]

When Charles Brinley replaced James, the close relationship between the American Society and the university was brought to a close. Since Brinley was not associated with any university, the Society came under suspicion by university leaders. Brinley was aware that "university extension has not the best reputation among trained educators" but he felt that "it could do a great deal more [good] both for the public and the universities if university men would not think of it as a cheap and vicious scheme for creating false impressions about higher education."[43]

According to the Society's constitution, governing power lay with the board of directors who elected the officers and set general policy. In fact, the board delegated its policy-making authority to the officers and generally reelected incumbents. A seat on the board was chiefly honorary, a member serving as a legal incorporator, submitting written reports which avoided divisive issues, and allowing his name to grace the official stationary. The men who sat on the board represented Philadelphia's elite (see Table IV): Strawbridge and Clothier, co-owners of the city's largest department store; Converse, president of the Baldwin Locomotive Works; Harrison, an officer of the Franklin Sugar Refining Company and provost of the university; Bodine, head of the United Gas Improvement Company; Baer, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad; and Tower, a financier and an original developer of the Iron Range in northern Minnesota. These men lived in one of three exclusive residential neighborhoods: Rittenhouse Square, the most exclusive, where 15 of them resided; the Quaker enclave in Germantown, especially on School Lane; and the rapidly developing

[41]Diary of Edmund J. James, in the James Papers, University of Illinois.

[42]*Citizen* 1 (November 1895), 197.

[43]Charles Brinley to Daniel Coit Gilman, December 2, 1896, in the Gilman papers, Johns Hopkins University Library.

TABLE IV

Board Members of the American Society
1890-1900

Samuel T. Bodine	George F. Baer
Charles E. Bushnel	Martin G. Brumbaugh
Isaac H. Clothier	Eugene Delano
John H. Converse	Edmund J. James
Walter C. Douglas	Craige Lippincott
Theodore N. Ely	William Pepper
Charles C. Harrison	Joseph G. Rosengarten
William H. Ingham	Charlemagne Tower, Jr.
John S. MacIntosh	Samuel Wagner
Henry S. Pancoast	Charles Wood
Justus C. Strawbridge	Stuart Wood

Source. *Ten Years Report*, pp. 2 and 34.

"Main Line" suburban communities. The presence of such men on the board served notice to every Philadelphian that the American Society was highly esteemed by the people who really counted.[44]

There was always a close link between the board of directors and the Society's financial situation, a link begun when Pepper persuaded 12 men to guarantee a fund of $7,500 per year for 5 years, to give the Society financial stability.[45] During the decade, the Society spent a total of $275,000 sponsoring courses; two-thirds of this amount was earned through lecturers' fees and expenses, and the other one-third was donated to the Society, $70,000 to the guarantee fund and $22,000 from 1,722 contributors. (An average contribution was about $13, but the average contribution over $5 was $150.[46] See Table V.)

[44]Baltzell, *passim*; *Philadelphia North American*, *Philadelphia and Popular Philadelphians*, (Philadelphia: The American Printing House, 1891), pp. 68, 75, 90, 130.

[45]George F. James, "University Extension in America," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* 6 (January 1893), 701-712.

[46]*Ten Years Report*, p. 8.

TABLE V

Finances of the American Society, 1890-1900

Year	Amount Earned by Society	Amount Subscribed to Guarantee Fund	Percent of Expenses Earned
1891	$10,000	$14,000	44
1892	18,000	10,000	65
1893	21,000	10,000	68
1894	23,000	9,000	70
1895	24,000	8,000	72
1896	23,000	8,000	73
1897	15,000	7,000	65
1898	13,000	7,000	65
1899	15,000	7,000	66
1900	16,000	6,000	75

Source.—*Ten Years Report*, p. 30.

The American Society never paid for purely local expenses, but charged local centers only $10 per course to cover general administrative work. As a result, its income could never match expenses, and administrators of the Society deduced from this the need of a large guarantee fund, on the order of $200,000.[47] From 1890 to 1895, the initial pledge carried the Society through, but the ending of the pledge, and a decline in contributions due to the depression, forced the Society to use 70 percent of the guarantee fund to meet expenses. As the situation worsened, the treasurer used 90 percent of the fund in both 1896 and 1897, before conditions improved the following year. The treasurer's report indicates a slight profit in accounts with the local centers, a surplus more than balanced by a deficit in the summer meeting account, and a huge deficit in the office expenses and salaries account. The $3,000 collected in membership fees did not match the $9,000 spent on administrative matters.[48]

[47] James, *First Annual Report*, p. 14; *University Extension: It's Claim to Public and Private Support* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1893), *passim*.

[48] "Abstract of Financial Statement . . . 1895" *Citizen* 2 (March 1896), p. 24; "Abstract of Financial Statement . . . 1896," *Citizen* 2 (February 1897), 415; "Annual Report of the Treasurer," *Citizen* 3 (December 1897), 295.

Although never near bankruptcy, the American Society issued appeals for both private and public assistance. In 1892 James urged a permanent endowment for hiring staff lecturers and establishing a summer meeting, and he wondered why no benefactor had donated to extension when universities everywhere were the recipients of lavish donations.[49] The first tract intended to solicit funds, which appeared anonymously in 1893, contained a series of statements from college presidents, noted educators, and the daily, religious, and educational press attesting to the value of extension.[50] Pleas for funds continued until the end of the decade, the emphasis changing from the value of extension in general to its particular value for laborers. There were also appeals to the civic pride of Philadelphians.[51]

The American Society never proposed that it be granted public assistance, but one of its staunchest supporters, C. Hanford Henderson, outlined a plan by which the federal Office of Education would provide funds directly to extension societies. Henderson felt that the funds should be channeled through the American Society. This proposal appeared in November 1891, 1 month before the First National Conference, when enthusiasm for a national movement had reached its zenith. The editors of *Popular Science Monthly* opposed the idea on the grounds that extension depended on zeal, enthusiasm, and vitality, and that governmental subsidy would be fatal to all of these. Furthermore, "it will not help our politics one bit to have extension hanging around the Capitol waiting for an appropriation."[52] In light of this criticism, Henderson modified his plan. The Office of Education would set up district extension offices, leaving local control dominant. The editors, however, remained unconvinced, arguing that people will value education only if they pay for it.[53]

Membership in the American Society was open to anyone willing to pay $5 per year. Each member received a free pass to any lecture conducted by the Society, and a subscription to its journal. At a yearly meeting, members elected the board of directors. The members are interesting primarily

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[49]James "First Annual Report," p. 14.

[50]*University Extension: Its Claim to Public and Private Support*, pp. 12-19.

[51]American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, "Concerning University Extension, Its Significance, Method and Results: A Statement for Public Information," (Philadelphia: The Society, 1898), pp. 10-12.

[52]C. Hanford Henderson, "University Extension," *Popular Science Monthly* 40 (November 1891), 1-15.

[53]C. Hanford Henderson, "The Nationalization of University Extension," *Popular Science Monthly* 40 (February 1892), 500-506, 554-556.

because of their social status. The membership list for 1896 indicates that the Society had 372 members: 284 lived in the Philadelphia area and the remainder lived mainly in the East. The residential living pattern of the members is like that of the board of directors; 183 of those who lived near Philadelphia lived either in the Rittenhouse Square neighborhood, Germantown, Chestnut Hill, or the Main Line—110 lived near Rittenhouse Square, 5 of them in the same block. Over 14 percent belonged to families classified as elite by E. Digby Baltzell and they shared ideas which included a strong strain of Anglophilism, expressed in High Church Episcopalianism. This Anglophilism may have been one cause of their support of extension, which was an English import, and also of the wide popularity of the English lecturers. Members from outside the city were either noted educators, such as the Rt. Rev. John J. Keane, rector of Catholic University, or wealthy gentlemen, such as Joshua Levering of Baltimore and Charles Pillsbury of Minneapolis. The importance of the members lies in the funds they contributed. Members occasionally attended extension courses; their two local centers near Rittenhouse Square, and a very active one in Germantown.[54]

Jerome W. Raymond brought extension at the University of Wisconsin into a closer relationship with the university. By 1894 the first flush of enthusiasm had ended, and Professor William Scott reported that many local centers had ceased operations because the prime supporters had moved away or because of hard times resulting from the depression. Furthermore, local expenses had increased when railroads recalled the free passes which they had provided for lecturers.[55]

Extension's fortunes improved in 1895, when Raymond, trained at the University of Chicago, became extension director. He believed that the small towns of the state were prime extension territory and, accordingly, wrote letters to small-town leaders to convince them to form an extension committee.

Replies indicated the wide spectrum of thought about extension outside the movement itself. From Ocanto, Wisconsin, came the report that a course there would be useless, for "the population is largely composed of a foreign element and they do not favor education."[56] High school principals seem to

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[54] "The List of the Members of the Society for the Extension of University Teaching," *Citizen* 2 (December 1896), 351-353. See also Baltzell, pp. 191-256.

[55] William A. Scott, "The Outlook in Wisconsin," *University Extension* 3 (December 1893), 173-180.

[56] E. L. Cloupeh to Jerome Raymond, January 15, 1896, in the Jerome Raymond manuscripts, University of Wisconsin Library.

have been especially unwilling to be involved. G. W. Paulus of Marshfield resented the intrusion of the university into local affairs. "If lecture courses are fastened on communities the way you endeavor to fasten one on us, I certainly don't want anything to do with university extension."[57] From places where Raymond was successful in promoting a course came a stream of complaints. In Superior there was resentment that three-fourths of the audience was female, in Pewaukee Emma Currie complained that the lecturer spoke so softly that only a few in the front rows heard him, and H. C. Buell of Janesville complained that, "I know of no subject that appeals so little to the average businessman as the study of Greek life."[58]

Raymond's problems extended to both the students and the faculty on the Madison campus. On April 20, 1895, the student newspaper, the *Daily Cardinal*, charged that the extension department kept professors off the campus, and consumed too much of their time.[59] The few professors with enthusiasm were rapidly losing it; Turner had long since removed himself from the picture, and Richard T. Ely told Raymond that he would not offer another extension course until he completed writing a book. He urged Raymond to recruit a corps of lecturers who would not have university appointments but would perform extension service in the name of the university.[60]

Adding to Raymond's concerns was the danger of a dispute between the extension divisions of Chicago and Wisconsin. Since the two were so close, they often competed for the favor of local sponsors. At La Crosse, in western Wisconsin, the local committee decided to withdraw from a Chicago circuit and join with a Wisconsin center at Winona, Minnesota.[61] The strained feeling between the two divisions is evident in the reply to Raymond's request to use Chicago promotional literature. Nathaniel Butler gave permission, but only if Raymond added a note to each pamphlet indicating its origin.[62] Fortunately, Raymond's Chicago background led to the settlement of what could have been a serious dispute. Francis W. Shepardson of Chicago took the initiative, arguing that it was

[57] G. W. Paulus to Raymond, November 3, 1895; G. W. Reigle to Raymond, October 12, 1895.

[58] J. J. Esch to Raymond, December 12, 1895; Emma E. Currie to Raymond, November 14, 1895; H. C. Buell to Raymond, December 14, 1896.

[59] *Daily Cardinal*, April 20, 1895, quoted in Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1948), 2, p. 729.

[60] R. T. Ely to Raymond, November 15, 1895.

[61] Fred Dell to Raymond, September 28, 1895.

[62] Nathaniel Butler to Raymond, September 13, 1895.

essential to "keep the most friendly relations" and indicating that Chicago "would strictly keep hands off Wisconsin" and retreat from centers in Minnesota and parts of Iowa. In turn, Wisconsin was to offer no courses in Illinois. In a congratulatory letter, Shepardson wrote: "there is plenty of room for both universities to carry on extension work, and we won't quarrel over the spoils."[63]

Raymond managed a 2-year resurrection of extension in Wisconsin. He urged extension on everyone, promoting it as far west as Montana.[64] But his hard work was unable to overcome contrary social, educational, and economic forces; such as professors who had lost enthusiasm for lecturing, small towns which had had enough after one course, the distraction of the 1896 presidential campaign, railroads which refused to reinstate free passes.[65] By 1897, when Raymond left to become president of the University of West Virginia, Badger extension was on the skids. The historian of Wisconsin extension believes that the experiment between 1890 and 1897 indicated that two conditions for success were an enthusiastic faculty and a "permanent and dedicated administrative organization."[66] During these years, Wisconsin had the faculty from 1891 to 1893, and the administrator from 1895 to 1897, but never the two simultaneously.

The extension program of the University of Chicago finally achieved administrative stability in 1895, and began to level off in numbers of lectures and attendance. Nathaniel Butler left his post as director in 1895 to become president of Colby College, although he insisted that his interest in extension "has not abated in the least."[67] Harper brought Edmund J. James to Chicago, where he remained until 1902. James hired Walter Payne as secretary of the lecture study department. The problems of the early years continued to plague James and Payne. Richard Moulton continued his campaign for more on-campus courses, and another popular lecturer, Charles Zueblin, joined him.[68] From 1894 to 1898, the department showed no signs of growth; the numbers of courses, centers, and lectures remained

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[63]Francis W. Shepardson to Raymond, September 27, 1895; October 7, 1895.

[64]Oscar J. Craig to Raymond, October 23, 1895.

[65]Roswell Miller to Raymond, April 4, 1896.

[66]Frederick M. Rosentreter, *The Boundaries of the Campus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), p. 42.

[67]Nathaniel Butler to William Rainey Harper, September 18, 1895.

[68]Charles Zueblin to Harper, January 29, 1894; December 21, 1898.

quite stable. The only change was that a higher percentage of the local centers were outside Chicago.[69] This is the opposite of events in Philadelphia, a paradox explicable by the intimate connection of the American Society with the city's residents, and the weaker ties between the University of Chicago and Chicagoans.

Other areas did not share in the 7-year prosperity of the American Society, the Raymond years at Wisconsin, or the stability of the James years at Chicago. By 1892, the University of the State of New York offered only 34 courses, and its extension declined sharply thereafter. State funding, which Melvil Dewey had won, continued, but the money could be used only for travelling libraries and the printing of syllabi. Since funds were not available, extension foundered.[70] Likewise at Chautauqua, the original plan of 1888 proved ineffective, and a modification appeared in 1893, calling for written "lectures" mailed to the student's house. By removing the direct contact between teacher and student, this plan destroyed the heart of extension and, like the earlier plan, it was a failure.[71] After the end of extension in Kansas in 1898, the movement was dormant west of the Missouri. It had failed to penetrate the South, although its few supporters there were agreed on the desperate need to root out southern provincialism. As one of them wrote, "it would be a relief to gather somewhere else than at a prayer meeting."[72]

The three major extension agencies—Philadelphia, Wisconsin, and Chicago—remained independent through these years. The American Society was too distant to contemplate union with either of them, and the dispute between Chicago and Wisconsin led not to cooperation but to a boundary line. There were, however, forces which drew together extension supporters, and there were meetings at which they gathered to discuss mutual problems. Finally, there were the summer meetings that the Society began in 1893 as an "educational clearinghouse" for extension people from across the nation.

A series of attacks by university men rallied extension forces and drew together representatives of the various societies. A common doubt

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[69]Walter Payne, "University Extension Work at the University of Chicago," *Citizen* 4 (July 1898), 103-107.

[70]*Citizen* 1 (March 1895) 21; Ibid. 3 (March 1897), 24; James E. Russell, "The Extension of University Teaching in England and America: A Study in Practical Pedagogics," (PhD diss., University of Leipsig, 1895), p. 221.

[71]"Chautauqua's Extension Courses," *University Extension* 3 (December 1893), 201, 217-220.

[72]W. Trent, "University Extension in the South," *University Extension* 3 (November 1893), 141-146.

concerned the possibility of bodily transfering the English system to America. Professor Harry P. Judson of the University of Minnesota argued that when English ideas were imported, they were "not always lasting or greatly fruitful." He feared that American universities would be "pale copies of Oxford or Heidelberg," and that "in reaching the masses with culture our copy at present we find where our dandies look for theirs—in London."[73] Judson attacked a stubborn adherence to the English model which blinded Americans to the advantage they had in their own high schools. Charles W. Super pointed to the faddish nature of extension in an age when "everybody likes to be connected with something that is called a 'university'."[74]

The first full-scale attack on extension came from George Herbert Palmer, chairman of the Harvard philosophy department. He doubted that extension would win a permanent response from the people. What would happen after 3 years when the novelty wore off? Could extension find financing and at the same time resist the urge to gravitate toward lyceum-style entertainment? Would people persist in class work, papers, and examinations? Palmer joined those who believed that it was not so easy to import an English idea, especially since in America colleges have been used by all social classes (this from a Harvard man!). Palmer doubted whether American extension could secure an adequate supply of teachers, while to use college professors would damage the colleges. American extension leaders, he concluded, "must give up all thought of doing here what has been done in England."[75]

Responses to Palmer came quickly. Michael Sadler disputed Palmer's evaluation. He lampooned Palmer's contention that professors were too busy to give extension lectures, and he testily observed that extension was not foreign to America, which was in fact "the classic home of the lecture."[76] William Cranston Lawton, lecturer for the American Society, believed that since there were more than enough trained men for university positions, the surplus could go into extension work. Extension was in no danger of deteriorating to the level of the lyceum, since it was in the hands of university-trained teachers, not quacks or cranks. The only unresolved

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[73]Harry Judson, "An Unknown Quantity and One Possible Value," *University Extension* 1 (April 1892), 327-331. See also, Russell, p. 203.

[74]Charles W. Super, "Some Pros and Contras on University Extension," *Education* 12 (February 1892), 330-335.

[75]George H. Palmer, "Doubts about University Extension," *Atlantic Monthly* 69 (March 1892), 367-374.

[76]M. E. Sadler, "Will University Extensions Starve the College Staffs?" *University Extension* 1 (June 1892), 369-376.

question was whether extension was a function of a university or of an independent society.[77]

Palmer's Harvard colleague, the historian, Albert Bushnell Hart, joined in the attack on university extension. "There is a pseudo 'university extension' which has behind it no university at all, but simply a society, a journal, a seminary, a program, and a lustily blown trumpet." Extension courses might be useful, enlightening, encouraging, and stimulating, but they were not "of the university." Furthermore, many were taught by a staff lecturer, "a person whom no university allows to teach its own students but is supposed to carry university instruction to those outside." He concluded, "in order to extend a university, you must have a university to extend." In place of extension, he proposed "university participation," that is, summer schools for teachers on a university campus at the university's expense, taught by regular professors and emphasizing pedagogical courses.[78] Edmund J. James termed Hart's ideas "a common misconception" about university extension, which never claimed to give a college education but only to provide systematic lectures, class exercises, collateral reading, and examinations. If the proper methods were followed, "a valuable educational result will be effected."[79]

There were people who had "honest doubts as to the wisdom of offering to the people at large . . . more educational opportunities than are afforded by the common schools." But extension supporters felt that such people were "not in accord with the spirit of the times in which they live."[80]

Extension people came together not only to defend themselves from attack but also to discuss methods and to meet at international expositions. A Second National Conference met in Philadelphia on December 29 and 30, 1892, after William Pepper's contacts with the Philadelphia aristocracy secured the necessary funds.[81] The sessions dealt with methods of carrying on the work; such as general organization, qualities of the lecturer, sequence in course work, and the operation of local committees. George Henderson, Richard Moulton, and Henry Wade Rogers represented Chicago; Melvil Dewey came from New York; and a host of notables was

[77] William Cranston Lawton, "An Extensionist's Apologia," *Citizen* 1 (June 1895), 84-87.

[78] Albert Hart, "University Participation: A Substitute for University Extension," *Educational Review* 6 (June 1893), 42-57.

[79] Edmund J. James, "A Common Misconception Regarding University Extension," *University Extension* 2 (June 1893), 380-386.

[80] "Report of the Board of Directors," *Citizen* 2 (December 1896), 347.

[81] F. B. Miles to William Pepper, December 1892, vol. 5, p. 906 of the Pepper papers.

there from the American Society. Only Wisconsin, among the major societies, seems to have been unrepresented, although a report of its activities was read.[82]

Extension leaders next met in Chicago in July 1893 in conjunction with the World's Fair. The University of Chicago's extension department made arrangements for the 3-day conference. The question of an official spokesman arose early, and the Chicago organizers selected a neutral figure, Herbert Baxter Adams. Adams refused to attend, however, although he did send a paper.[83] Like the Second National Conference, the Chicago gathering confined itself to technical subjects and became involved in the Oxford-Cambridge dispute over whether extension should lean toward popularity or scholarship.[84]

The World's Congress on University Extension met in London in 1894, the brainchild of R. D. Roberts, secretary of the London Society, who had convinced the chancellors of the three English universities to preside. There were representatives not only from England and the United States but also from Canada, Australia, Norway, Belgium, Spain, and Italy. America sent five official representatives—Henry Rolfe, Frederick B. Miles, and J. G. Rosengarten from the American Society; Nathaniel Butler of Chicago; and J. Russell Parsons of the University of the State of New York.[85]

One conference committee dealt with "the means of preserving and future developing the educational character of university extension work, and the relation of the more popular to the more strictly educational side of the movement." Behind this was the issue of long vs. short courses, Cambridge vs. Oxford, an issue settled in the United States by the universal adoption of the short, six-lecture course. The committee ended, or at least obfuscated, the dispute by declaring that for some students extension was a "sustained curriculum," while for others it awakened intellectual interests.[86]

A second committee discussed "the essentials of efficient central and local organization, and the relation, educational and financial, of

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[82]"The Second National Conference," *University Extension* 2 (January 1893), 193-196.

[83]Nathaniel Butler to Adams, May 20, 1893, May 23, 1893; George Henderson to Adams, March 17, 1893, April 11, 1893.

[84]*University Extension* 3 (July 1893), 38-39; Ibid. (September 1893), 105.

[85]John Davidson, "The University Extension Congress, London, 1894," *Educational Review* 6 (June 1894), 350-357; *Report of the Proceedings of the University Extension Congress*, p. 11.

[86]T. J. Lawrence, "The University Extension Congress," *University Extension* 4 (October 1894), 108-113.

the . . . movement to the state and local authorities." The committee approved all forms of organization, provided that there was "the closest possible cooperation between the universities and the local organization." It did not favor state aid but urged the government to give indirect assistance by providing free rooms in which to hold classes.[87]

The third committee discussed "the educational possibilities of . . . extension work and methods in relation to regular university studies and . . . degrees." The members favored as much university recognition as possible, and endorsed the Chicago and Cambridge plans by which extension students earned university credits.[88]

Throughout the conference, "the foreign and colonial delegates were there to learn rather than to suggest new developments, and did not contribute very much . . . to the discussion."[89] A possible reason for American silence was the Congress's failure to discuss issues of concern to Americans. Short courses were a fact in America; popularity had long since won out over scholarship; organizational pluralism prevailed. The Congress exposed the growing gap between the movements on the two sides of the Atlantic.

An important meeting ground was the summer meeting, several of which were sponsored by the American Society in Philadelphia between 1893 and 1897. The Society selected the campus of the University of Pennsylvania, and contracted for free use of buildings, provided it paid for the extra custodians required.[90] Flyers advertised the meeting; for a fee of $10, one could attend a month of lectures.[91] Beside the lectures, the student had at his disposal the cultural and historical resources of Philadelphia, the library, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Academy of Natural Sciences.[92] A student could live comfortably for the month on only $25, and scholarships were available for those too poor to afford even this modest amount.[93] The faculty included leading university men, as well as

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[87] *Report of the Proceedings*, p. 40; Lawrence, "The University Extension Congress," 110.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Davidson, 351.

[90] Contract in file, "Summer Courses, Extension, 1893," in Archives General, University of Pennsylvania.

[91] *The First University Extension Summer Meeting, July 5–August 2, 1893* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1893), *passim*.

[92] "The First Summer Meeting," *University Extension* 2 (March 1893), 257-264.

[93] "Summer Meeting Notes," *University Extension* 2 (May 1893), 372.

Jacob Riis, Theodore Roosevelt, John Fiske, and Russell Conwell,[94] and courses were offered in literature, natural science, sociology, music, sanitation, and pedagogy. The six-lecture course of the winter yielded in favor of both more intensive work and a series of single lectures. About 200 persons enrolled for the first meeting, which was so successful that Edward T. Devine declared that it had already become "a permanent essential feature of university extension." He was especially happy with the emphasis on American history, as well as the historical excursion around Philadelphia led by Lyman Powell.[95]

Devine became director of the 1894 meeting. He divided it into seven departments: literature, science and art, pedagogy, music, history and civics, economics and sociology, and mathematics, and raised the composite fee to $15. He hired John B. MacMaster and Frederick J. Turner in history, Simon Patten in economics, and Frank MacMurray in pedagogy.[96] During July, 350 students listened to 504 lectures given by 64 lecturers.[97] This year the university allowed the use of electric fans, and further cooperated by not repairing the buildings (the pounding had caused intense annoyance the previous year).[98] By 1895, the Society advertised the summer school for teachers who deserved one month's vacation but needed the second month for self-cultivation. Another feature of the 1895 meeting was a series of courses on ancient Greece.[99] For the 1896 meeting, the Society managed to convince railroads to charge a reduced rate of two-thirds fare for travel to and from the meeting, and followed up the course on Greece with one on ancient Rome.[100] The final summer meeting in 1897 emphasized medieval life and thought, and featured a demonstration kindergarten, under the direction of Miss Anna Williams.[101]

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[94]Ibid., 376.

[95]E. T. Devine, "The Summer Meeting," *University Extension* 3 (October 1893), 126-136.

[96]"The Summer Meeting Courses," *University Extension* 3 (May 1894), 387-388.

[97]"The Summer Meeting of 1894," *University Extension* 4 (August 1894), 62.

[98]Devine to Pepper, February 26, 1894, May 15, 1894, in Archives General, University of Pennsylvania.

[99]"Report of the Summer Meeting of 1895," *Citizen* 1 (February 1896), 300-302.

[100]"Report of the Chairman of the Summer Meeting Committee," *Citizen* 2 (December 1896), 348-349.

[101]*Citizen* 3 (May 1897), 74-75; Ibid. 3 (July 1897), 125-126.

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This situation of monopoly is mitigated, however, by the house organs of the extension press, which were balanced, well-composed, and by no means overly laudatory of their own efforts. A comparison of the coverage of the summer meetings in the house organ of the American Society and in Philadelphia newspapers reveals nothing of substance not contained in the house organ, and frequently the newspaper produced encomiums more readily than did the extension leaders or lecturers. Furthermore, the newspapers, as well as the house organs, failed to write about the meetings from a client-centered point of view.

These 7 years provide an indication of the manner in which Americans received, developed, and altered English extension. First, extension prospered only where it was a part of a university, or if run by a wealthy independent society. Second, extension appealed everywhere to people who might be termed dilettantes. Courses in literature and music removed the influence of university men and university standards. The trend of the 1890s was away from the scholarly conception of the English toward a popular conception in which sequence in courses and examinations played an insignificant role.[102] Third, a sufficient number of lecturers was present, at least in Chicago and Philadelphia, to carry on a program, even if staff lecturers whose scholarly credentials were open to question taught many courses.

Extension had adapted itself to the American scene by a diversity of institutional arrangements; it was supported by the privileged sector and it diluted the English level of standards. The 7 prosperous years were a time of expansion and of beginnings, of transformation from the English to the American system.

Though these summer meetings were successful in attracting students and lecturers, their financing was inadequate. Even when fees jumped annually, the percentage of the total expenses paid for out of fees declined from 80 in 1894 to 44 in 1897. Faced with deficits in other areas, the Society had to cut back somewhere, and the summer meetings were ended.

The continued success of extension during the 1890s is somewhat surprising. It was no longer a fad, and its student body contained a larger proportion of serious adults. The "boom" period for extension occurred during a "bust" period for the economy. The effects of the depression of 1893 lingered until after the election of McKinley, but had only a slight impact on the numbers attending extension courses. Extension leaders noted the decline in theatre box office receipts and compared this to their own rise in enrollment. Perhaps the failure of the depression to affect the progress of extension indicates extension's failure to reach the lowest

[102] For the pedagogical effects of these developments, see Chapter 7.

classes; for, as in all periods of economic stress, those closest to the bottom were the most seriously hurt. Extension had never attracted those at the bottom, so their hardship did not alter extension's prospects.

Extension during these years became inbred in terms of both personnel and ideas. Extension advocates were a tiny coterie in a large educational world, and within this club, men moved from one position to another easily. George Henderson left his post as secretary of the American Society to become director at the University of Chicago; Edmund J. James relinquished the presidency of the American Society to accept Henderson's position; Jerome Raymond moved from the extension division at Chicago to Wisconsin, and later returned to Chicago; and Lyman P. Powell left Madison to become a staff lecturer for the American Society. More significant than the inbreeding of men was the intellectual inbreeding. After 1892 it is difficult to discover articles about the movement in any periodical other than those which the extension societies themselves published.

IMPACT ON AMERICAN EDUCATION

At the turn of the century, American education underwent significant alterations in both theory and practice. The Hegelian idealism which William Torrey Harris preached as education Commissioner yielded to the practical and social views developed by such divergent men as John Dewey, Charles Van Hise, and Edward L. Thorndike. In the new ideology, the school became not only the place which trained children and adolescents but also the institution which compensated for deficiencies in family life caused by the industrialization and urbanization of society. Schools provided services such as health care, free lunches, and vocational training. Because of the wider scope of its activities, the school moved to a central social position.

Institutions of higher education also changed rapidly. The small college continued to educate a majority of those who sought the liberal arts degree, but the dilution of religious influences and the rise of the university had effects on the college. Most colleges compromised; in terms of selection and qualification of faculty, administrative organization, and curriculum, the university ideal proved dominant, but the student body and its life style remained true to the collegiate pattern. The dynamic element in higher education was the university, a hybrid of German theory and American practice, within which academic men emphasized a variety of functions, including basic research, service to the community, and the spread of liberal culture.[1]

The high school gradually expanded to fill the gap between the common school and higher education. Because it served as a link between two other educational levels, the high school required definitions of entrance and exit requirements, as well as curriculum. Educators provided these definitions in, for example, the report of the Committee of Ten in 1893, and in the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education in 1918.

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[1]Lawrence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), *passim*.

The relationship between university extension and the educational system is largely one of reaction to events by members of the extension community. Through extension publications, ideas were presented on a number of important issues, including the role of education in a democratic society, the function of research in a university, the necessity of continuing education for all adults, the usefulness of public libraries, and the danger of athletics to the intellectual life of the college or university. By and large these opinions merely reflected the accepted educational wisdom, but extension viewpoints on education flowed also from the perception of education's new professional status, on a par with law or medicine. However, the readers of these publications were laymen and not professional educators. University extension periodicals took ideas generated by educational reformers in other fields, mingled them with some unique perceptions, and passed them on to the public.

When extension leaders thought about the role of education, they thought in social terms. They argued that it was impossible to separate education from the other serious concerns of life, and that it was, in fact, "morally wrong" to do so.[2] Simon Patten, professor of economics at the University of Pennsylvania, believed that education had three phases: the preparation of the boy for industrial life, which took place in the common schools, where he learned inherited customs, habits, and institutions—what Patten called "race knowledge"; preparation of the scholar for specialized work in university laboratories and seminars; and the preparation of the adult for citizenship. Patten felt that this last area was crucial, because the common schools had failed to produce citizens with an intelligent grasp of social problems. Extension educated adults for responsible citizenship in a democracy. Patten held the relatively advanced view that schoolroom education was but a small fraction of the educational experience of the young.[3] His theory was essentially a conservative response to the upheavals of the 1890s, an attempt to bring the stabilizing influence of the university to bear on the turbulent lower classes.

W. Hudson Shaw amplified Patten's view of the social role of education in a democratic society. "If democracy is not to end in utter ruin and disaster, we must take in hand the training of the adult."[4] James Earl Russell agreed.[5] Because they based much of their argument for education in

[2]M. G. Brumbaugh, "University Extension," *Education* 13 (May 1893), 552-558.

[3]Simon Patten, "The Place of University Extension," *University Extension* 3 (February 1894), 258-292.

[4]W. Hudson Shaw, "Democracy and Education," *Citizen* 1 (April 1895), 33-35.

[5]James Earl Russell, "The Extension of University Teaching in England and America: A Study in Practical Pedagogics," (Leipzig: n.p., 1895), p. 236.

general, and for extension in particular, on the increasing democratization of society, men like Shaw and Russell fought a rearguard action against those who believed that the spread of education was the cause of discontent. Shaw argued first, that it was obvious that people wanted more education than that provided by the common schools and second, that education did not cause turmoil but "begat aspiration and resolve to penetrate ever deeper into worthy things."[6]

Extension supporters saw education as at once conservative, progressive, and moralistic. Patten saw the role of the school in a classically conservative mode—handing down the knowledge of the past to the young. But he also felt that education should enable the young to make creative decisions about an unknown future. The schools must inculcate principles of morality. The *Citizen*, house organ of the American Society, editorialized that when the common schools abandoned religious instruction, ethical teaching was also abandoned. It proposed that the schools teach a common morality drawn from Christianity, Judaism, and Plato. The formation of character was an essential function of education, every bit as important as mental training.[7] Educators were worried about the business spirit of the late 19th century, what Harris termed its "Philistinism," and schools must be on guard against falling into step with materialism and commercialism.[8]

Supporters of university extension thus surrounded their work with educational theorizing which emphasized concepts central to American schooling. They believed that education was more essential in a democracy than in any other form of government, repeating an argument which goes back to the early days of the Republic. Apart from an emphasis on adult education, there was nothing that was a unique creation of extension.

The first educational institution with which extension leaders came into contact was the university. Extension people argued that you could have "university extension without a university, but not a university without university extension."[9] Edward Devine thought the medieval English university represented a golden age of democracy, when the nobility and yeomen mingled at Oxford and Cambridge, studying a basically utilitarian

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[6]Edmund J. James, "Some Considerations on Our System of Education," *Citizen* 1 (September 1895), 157-160; Ibid. 1 (February 1896), 277; American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, *Concerning University Extension: Its Significance, Methods and Results* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1898), pp. 4-6, 9.

[7]*Citizen* 2 (January 1897), 359-361.

[8]Ibid. 1 (June 1895), 78.

[9]Brumbaugh, 557.

curriculum. Because of the diversity of social classes among the students, the influence of the two universities radiated through the entire nation. This golden age came to an end, Devine believed, during the Renaissance, when considerations of class and status pushed aside the "popular" medieval viewpoint, and universities became oriented to a tiny and highly inbred sector of the population. The schools further lost their influence among the masses when they became tied to a physical place and a certain age bracket. Finally, the idea grew that university work was difficult and often irrelevant to daily life; this conception led to a loss of contact between the universities and the greater part of the population. Fortunately, Devine concluded, the appearance of English university extension indicated that men were "bringing the university to the people, when, under our social and economic relations, they can no longer go to the university."[10]

According to some extension leaders, the university had a dual social role. W. Hudson Shaw believed that universities did not exist "solely to encourage research" or train professional men.[11] On the contrary, the university existed both to create knowledge through research and to disseminate culture, through teaching done both on campus and in extension courses.[12] Edward T. Devine believed that teaching involved the testing of ideas developed in research, "so that the two functions were two parts of the same unit."[13] Sidney Sherwood went further, insisting that teaching in an extension course was itself a "method of research" into the lives of the masses.[14] Attempts to make the teaching and research functions interdependent arose out of a sincere fear that the German-oriented university, then sweeping across America, would lose contact with the public, a fear which intensified the support which extension people gave to their own movement.

The extension concept of the role of universities is quite unlike that of the Wisconsin idea of the 1910s, or of subsequent plans, which saw the university as the solver of specific social problems, as an active agent in the social equation, taking a definite stand on issues. The university would turn

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[10]"What is University Extension?" *University Extension* 1 (August 1891), 51-55; Edward T. Devine, "The Influence of University Extension on the Universities," Ibid. 1 (September 1891), 74-81.

[11]Shaw, 35.

[12]*Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Conference on University Extension*, Ed. George F. James (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), p. 76.

[13]Devine, 81.

[14]Sidney Sherwood, "University Extension as a Method of Research," *University Extension* 3 (May 1894), 357-361.

its attention to fertilizers, or to municipal affairs, or to the drafting of a model city charter. The extension ideology of the 1890s, on the contrary, viewed the university as an informative influence on citizens, enabling them to cast their ballots more wisely. As social problems grew more complex, the more specialized knowledge of the university provided voters with more information. Moreover, the extension lecturer of the 1890s took no sides in the problems he discussed, as Edward Bemis unhappily learned at Chicago. Lecturers did not plead for specific solutions to labor unrest, the currency controversy, or increased immigration.

Hopeful about the rising universities, extension promoters were critical of small colleges. While believing that the college had a "distinct mission," they felt that the college should be no more than a small-scale university. In attacking the plethora of small, poorly equipped, underfinanced denominational colleges, extension people used an argument similar to that James B. Conant used in criticizing the small high school of the 1950s: their size determined that they could not offer courses essential to a liberal education. However, through cooperation with an extension society, the small college could diversify its curriculum, and reduce sectarian influence, and at the same time add to the quality of its faculty.[15]

Believing that the spread of extension programs would solve many of the problems facing higher education, extension advocates expressed great concern over the rise of athletics. Intercollegiate athletics grew to prominence in the 1880s, both as sport and as social event. In the Ivy League, the importance of athletics mirrored the social prestige of the student body. The popularity of athletics detracted from the scholarly side of university life, and it was a sign of the times that the Yale-Princeton football match drew 10 times as many people as a debate between the two schools. But the athletic craze gained no support from extension quarters; football, in particular, drew the "Devine" wrath, as wasteful of educational funds, and as the first step down the road to professionalism.[16]

Significantly, public libraries promoted the early extension ventures, and the longest-lived society was independent of university control. Some of the most prominent leaders of higher education—Harper, Van Hise, Pepper, James, Turner, and Adams—were important extension supporters, but the universities failed to take a great or sustained interest in extension.[17]

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[15] *Citizen* 1 (May 1895), 52; Ibid. 1 (June 1895), 78; Ibid. 3 (January 1898), 246.

[16] Ibid. 1 (April 1895), 30-31; Ibid. 3 (March 1897), 3; Ibid. 3 (April 1897), 29-30.

[17] The idea that the universities lagged in support of extension was first developed by A. Stephan Stephen, "Backgrounds and Beginnings of University Extension in America," *Harvard Educational Review* 18 (Spring 1948), 99-108.

Chicago and Wisconsin are the exceptions. Extension people assigned much of the blame for this to the faculty, believing them to be overly concerned with their private research, timid about facing the public, or filled with aristocratic notions about the professor's role.[18] This criticism overlooks the rapid growth of universities in the 1890s, which forced them to devote considerable effort to self-definition and organization, and left professors little free time for off-campus activities.

In 1892, the American Society devised a plan by which the universities would cooperate with the Society. First, the Society would provide promotional literature for the university to use in an effort to develop its own extension division. Second, the Society would assist in the creation of a local center near the campus, for which the university would provide lecturers, and a joint Society-university certificate would be issued. Third, the university would accept a Society staff lecturer as a full faculty member while he lectured in the vicinity.[19] These alternate plans were based on the assumption that "the universities must directly or indirectly take a formal part in the work."[20] There is evidence that only one small college ever adopted any of these plans: Wilson College in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, employed an extension lecturer to strengthen its offerings in political science. Other schools were not attracted by the prospect of an extension lecturer on their faculty. When Johns Hopkins considered the plan, Herbert Baxter Adams informed President Gilman that "No cooperation is possible with James and Philadelphia."[21]

The scepticism which university professors and administrators expressed about the extension movement and the qualifications of its lecturers, and the failure of most universities to create a program turned the American Society inward. It began to reassess its independence versus a cooperative stance with the universities.[22]

Adult education agencies have usually urged the extension and improvement of public schooling. The lyceum was a principal factor in the spread of the common schools throughout New England and the

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[18]*Citizen* 3 (June 1897), 81.

[19]George F. James, "University Extension in America," *American Monthly Review of Reviews* 6 (January 1893), 701-712. The idea was privately expressed in letters to college presidents.

[20]*Proceedings of the First National Conference*, p. 81.

[21]Herbert Baxter Adams to Daniel Coit Gilman on copy of Edmund J. James to Gilman, November 1, 1892, in Gilman Papers, Johns Hopkins University Library.

[22]*University Extension* 4 (February 1895), 192.

Midwest.[23] University extension revived this tradition, which had faded somewhat during the years that Chautauqua was the chief adult education instrument. The changing situation indicated that extension no longer need be an ally in the fight for public education, but instead a means for the continuing education of public school teachers.

Teachers were early supporters of extension and Martin G. Brumbaugh, extension lecturer and later a city and state superintendant, assessed this appeal as very strong.[24] Others saw extension classes for teachers as part of the wider movement for professionalization of the pedagogue.[25] Nathan C. Schaeffer, state superintendant in Pennsylvania, produced statistics indicating that of the 25,339 teachers in the state, only 195 were college graduates, and only 6,000 had attended normal school. He argued that extension classes would not only educate teachers but also would serve to link them to the "higher life" of the mind necessary for their vocation.[26] The superintendent of tiny Iola, Kansas, W. S. Picken, echoed these sentiments and added that the few normal school alumni moved quickly to administrative posts, thus retaining little effect on classroom conduct and methods. He called for extension classes organized through county teachers' institutes, where teachers could earn college credit.[27] Albert Bushnell Hart based his criticism on extension's failure to do anything for teachers.[28]

The problem was twofold: to make teachers aware of extension, and to convince them to attend courses. Soon after the American Society incorporated, it sent out promoters to the annual meetings of state teachers' associations. Herbert Baxter Adams and Edmund J. James spoke in Ohio, Willis Boughton in Maryland, George F. James in Pennsylvania, and William Rogers in Illinois and Colorado; James also carried the "good news" to the National Education Association and the Middle States and

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[23]Carl Bode, *The American Lyceums, Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), *passim*.

[24]Brumbaugh, 619.

[25]"Why Teachers Should Be Interested in University Extension," *University Extension* 1 (August 1891), 56-61.

[26]Nathan C. Schaeffer, "University Extension and Teachers in the Public Schools," *University Extension* 2 (June 1893), 377-379.

[27]W. S. Picken, "University Extension for the Public School Teacher," *University Extension* 3 (June 1894), 404-409.

[28]A. B. Hart, "University Participation: A Substitute for University Extension," *Educational Review* 6 (June 1893), 42-57. For a fuller treatment of Hart's criticisms, see Chapter 6.

Maryland Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. These speakers presented the salient features of extension, and its benefits for teachers, and they referred teachers to the nearest extension agency.[29] Speakers also appeared at county meetings in Pennsylvania, where they reported the "keenest interest" in extension.[30]

The results of the campaign were disappointing. Teachers frequently attended courses, but lecturers' reports do not indicate that their numbers were unusual. One reason was that courses were not offered locally. Those who heard the appeals in Ohio and Colorado would, after 1893, have found it impossible to attend a class near their homes. Furthermore, there was no compulsion to attend. Only in Germantown, Pennsylvania did an administrator require his teachers to attend, and then from 40 to 60 dutifully turned out.[31] Finally, extension courses may have been too expensive for some of the more poorly paid teachers. This prompted a request to the American Society from Nathan Schaeffer that teachers be granted reduced rates, and the Society complied, realizing full well that this move would add to its deficit.[32]

The most important factor keeping teachers away from extension classes was the unavailability of course credits. Most major universities offered summer schools which granted full credit. In an age of increasing professional consciousness, extension courses were a decidedly unprofessional manner in which to seek self-improvement.

The increasing professionalism renewed interest in pedagogy. This phenomenon—which attracted teachers to summer meetings, where both psychology and pedagogy were featured[33]—had roots in the ideas of Herbert, Froebel, Dewey, and G. Stanley Hall. Among extension lecturers, it led to a rethinking of the basic elements of courses in terms of sound pedagogic principles. For one, the syllabus was to be in an attractive binding and format; it was to hold a narrow line between stimulating student interest and illuminating the entirety of the course. Staff lecturer Henry W. Rolfe believed that the "ideal syllabus" should enhance the

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[29] *University Extension* 1 (July 1891), 31; Ibid. 1 (November 1891), 165; Ibid. 1 (February 1892), 270; Ibid. 2 (August 1892), 61.

[30] "Notes," in *University Extension* 2 (December 1892), 184.

[31] *Citizen* 2 (June 1896), 148.

[32] Ibid 1 (December 1895), 236.

[33] Ibid. 2 (May 1896), 81.

course but not do the students' work.[34] A typical syllabus contained a hefty bibliography, synopses of the lectures (usually dramatically written), weekly written exercises, and blank pages for notes.[35]

The conduct of the class period following the lecture drew comment from Josiah Penniman, who thought it necessary to "plant" people in the audience to begin the discussion, thus overcoming the natural shyness of many.[36] But the conduct, or the necessity, of examinations occasioned the greatest comment. The American Society quickly dropped the English system in which most people took examinations as a matter of course—this foreshadowed the more casual American approach to extension. The University of Chicago was an early exception to this rule, but in 1894 it also dropped extension examinations.[37] Surviving examinations called for essay-type answers, stressing solid factual background and interpretive ability.[38]

Extension people distinguished between college teaching and extension lecturing. Not only did the lecturer require special qualifications,[39] but he also needed a special methodology based on the Herbartian idea of stimulation of interest. College and university students faced many requirements, whereas extension students could drop any course in which they lost interest. Extension lecturers, therefore, shared in the concern over pedagogy, which was a significant part of educational reform in the 1890s.

This reform movement centered around three foci. First, there was considerable dissatisfaction with the failure of established educational institutions (common schools and colleges) to prepare children for life in an urban, industrial society. Second, new institutions attempted to define their place in the educational system; the kindergarten, graduate school, "comprehensive" high school, and university extension were the four most prominent newcomers. Third, educators attempted to articulate the new and old institutions, so as to produce an educational ladder stretching from

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[34]H. W. Rolfe, "The Ideal Syllabus," *University Extension* 1 (January 1892), 230-234.

[35]Bound volumes of syllabi are available at the Newberry Library, Chicago.

[36]Josiah H. Penniman, "Class Work in University Extension," *University Extension* 1 (April 1892), 305-310.

[37]Edward T. Devine, "University Extension Examinations," Ibid. 2 (May 1893), 345-352; "Chicago Abolishes Extension Exams," Ibid. 3 (June 1894), 384-385.

[38]Newberry Library Center for University Extension, *Circulars, Syllabi, Etc., 1891-1897.*

[39]See Chapter 6.

kindergarten to university (a metaphor very prominent in the contemporary literature). Individuals, institutions, and ideas jostled for more secure rungs on the ladder.

Extension theorists were concerned about the common schools, for, as William T. Harris put it, "University extension must be bottomed on the extension of the elementary and secondary school . . . then it will be on a solid basis."[40] Within the general framework of praise for the common school as "a defense against illiteracy, at least in the case of native born children," the movement's leaders expressed the conviction that common school education was neither sufficient nor perfect.[41] The *Citizen* editorialized that "common school education which was once thought to afford the average child full and sufficient instruction as preparation for life and citizenship" had ceased to satisfy the goals of popular education.[42] New social conditions required everyone to have more and better learning. The most conspicuous failure of the common schools was a failure to generate interest in continuing education. They left their pupils with the impression that further education was unnecessary. Schools must reject this pernicious idea and must cooperate with continuing education agencies, especially with university extension.[43]

By the 1890s, the high school had outdistanced the academy, and was developing its character through curriculum revision and standardization. University men such as Charles W. Eliot molded the high school by defining it in terms of university admissions requirements, and extension periodicals generally favored the report of Eliot's Committee of Fifteen, not out of a desire to see university standards imposed on secondary schools, but rather as a wish to see the educational ladder completed. The high school was seen as the weak rung, and there were frequent references to a "gap" between the common school and the university.[44]

Educational reforms of the 1890s ranged from attempts to remove political controls over school boards to drives to decorate classrooms. Extension periodicals commented on these and usually came down on the progressive side. The American Society had its greatest influence in Philadelphia,

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[40]William T. Harris to Herbert Baxter Adams, June 30, 1896, in Adams Papers, Johns Hopkins University Library.

[41]American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, "Special Announcement for the Year, 1898-1899," in *Citizen* 4 (June 1898), 95.

[42]Ibid. 3 (November 1897), 199.

[43]Ibid. 3 (July 1897), 103.

[44]Ibid. 1 (April 1895), 31-33.

where it joined in the leadership of an effort to remove corruption from school board nominations. It gave vigorous support to the Porter bill to end the patronage system and open the board to election. The support of the Society and the Ladies Civic Club was instrumental in the bill's enactment, and its long-range effects were highly beneficial to the quality of Philadelphia schools.[45]

Schools were to be kept free from politicians, so as to function in the most efficient manner possible. The movement for educational efficiency was just beginning, and extension people supported it wholeheartedly.[46] As early as 1893, Edmund J. James had noted that one of the most beneficial effects of extension would be the use of school buildings during the evening.[47] He believed that every urban school should have a large auditorium for use as an adult education center.[48] The extension viewpoint on efficiency was no more sophisticated than a natural belief that facilities would be more efficient if used at night, and was linked neither to a community school philosophy, such as that in Gary, Indiana, in 1913, nor to efforts by businessmen to impose commercial values on administrators.[49]

The summer meetings of the American Society served as demonstration points for the latest educational innovations. Lightner Witmer of the University of Pennsylvania lectured on child psychology, and a model kindergarten provided teachers with an opportunity to study proper methodology. (Because of the numbers of teachers attending the summer meeting, it came to be seen as an "educator's clearinghouse.")[50] Finally, the American Society supported a campaign by the Philadelphia Civic Club to beautify city classrooms, to provide a better learning environment, and to cultivate good taste.[51]

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[45] Ibid. 1 (May 1895), 53-54; Ibid. 1 (April 1895), 27; Ibid. 1 (June 1895), 76. A fuller discussion toward the attitude of extension leaders on reform will be found in Chapter 7.

[46] Raymond Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[47] *Handbook of University Extension* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1893), p. xi.

[48] *Citizen* 3 (December 1897), 222.

[49] Ibid. 1 (June 1895), 75-76.

[50] Lightner Witmer, "The Teaching of Psychology to Teachers," Ibid. 2 (July 1896), 158-162.

[51] Ibid. 1 (May 1895), 54; Ibid. 3 (April 1897), 27-28.

Despite the support which extension societies and publications gave to such varied kinds of reform, their efforts did not have a significant effect on the success or failure of the reforms. Outside of their own field of adult education, extension leaders had little effect on the conduct of the schools. Their interest in common and secondary schools arose out of dissatisfaction with the educational backgrounds of adults in extension classes. They did not originate the reforms which they supported, and the removal of their support would have counted for little. Only the application of pressure in a local area such as in the case of the Porter bill produced an effect.

Leaders of the extension movement played a more influential role in support of free public libraries and public lectures. Herbert Baxter Adams first proposed a program of extension at the convention of the American Library Association, and the first American course met at the Buffalo library. In most major cities, libraries cooperated with extension lecturers and students, either by setting aside books required for extension courses, or (more rarely) by reserving an entire room for use by extension students. One Philadelphia librarian reported that he was "bothered to death by the calls of extension students for books," but was pleased because this increased use of the library presented a good bargaining point at budget conferences.[52]

The public library has usually found an ally in adult education movements. Recognizing the dependence of their students on library resources, adult educators have praised the library and urged its expansion. Lyceums developed their own libraries, but university extension supported the expansion of public facilities.[53] From Buffalo to St. Louis, from the Newberry Library to the Free Library of Philadelphia, libraries cooperated with extension students and received support in return. The absence of a public library could be a crippling blow to a course, as Edward Bemis discovered in Nashville in 1891.[54] Editorials in extension journals constantly urged "a vigorous campaign in behalf of public libraries in Pennsylvania," since that state had lagged behind others in developing them, and extension could have "no better ally" than a free public library.[55] One student wrote that the two "go hand in hand in opening the road for the future of education."[56]

[52] *Citizen* 2 (July 1896), 155-156.

[53] Bode, pp. 24-26.

[54] Edward Bemis to Herbert Baxter Adams, October 29, 1891.

[55] *Citizen* 1 (March 1895), 5; Ibid. 1 (September 1895), 152.

[56] J. G. Rosengarten to the Editor of the *Citizen*, Ibid. 2 (June 1896), 145-146.

necessary adjunct to our civilization."[57] Melvil Dewey summarized, "The public library is the real cornerstone of university extension."[58]

Public libraries were worthy of support not only because they were necessary for extension, but because they made it possible for all social classes, especially the poor, to read the proper kind of printed material. The spread of literacy through common school education was not an unmixed blessing, because the public could read socialist or anarchist propaganda or sensational newspapers as well as "decent" literature. Staff lecturer F. H. Sykes wrote, "The popular demand for increased knowledge is an overwhelming force. Shall it be gotten from cheap newspapers and sensational books, or shall it be delivered through the medium of the standard free library, the systematically graded school, and the University Extension lecturer, equipped with the authority of superior education?"[59] The answer is obvious. Pope's warning about the dangers of "a little learning" were heeded, and the trinity of library, public school, and extension classes was invoked to counter these dangers.

Public libraries were often inaccessible to residents of the rural areas around Chicago and in New York state. Since books were essential to a profitable extension course, the Society prepared travelling libraries which moved with the lecturer. The idea was prominent in New York, where state funds were used for this purpose, and also in the Midwest, where the University of Chicago took up the project with vigor and dispersed over 100 travelling libraries throughout its territory.[60] This early bookmobile provided extension students with required readings and occasionally stimulated citizens to begin a campaign to found a public library.

The free public lectures, which achieved renewed popularity in the 1890s, were potential competitors with extension classes. If people could hear at no cost the same speakers whom they paid tuition fees to hear in extension classes, they would obviously choose the free lecture. The free public lecture of the 1890s differed from earlier versions in that it was urban, organized by school boards, and more educational. In the late 1880s, under the leadership of Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, New York became the first major city to sponsor free lectures. Originally, the lectures were individual, but soon courses resembling university extension appeared. In 1891, 22 free

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[57] "Special Announcement for the Year, 1898-99," 95.

[58] Melvil Dewey, "University Extension in New York," in *Proceedings*, pp. 269-287.

[59] *Citizen* 1 (February 1896), 277.

[60] F. W. Shepardson, "The Travelling Library," *University Extension* 3 (September 1893), 87-94; Walter Payne, "University Extension Work at the University of Chicago," *Citizen* 4 (July 1898), 103-107.

lectures were presented; this number increased to 1,595 by 1898, when over half a million people heard 175 different lecturers. The total cost for this year was about $60,000, or 11 cents per person. The lectures were more likely to be on utilitarian or contemporary subjects than those of the American Society. First aid and municipal government were especially popular. In 1900, the Society contributed $237 to the New York City school board, to assist in the sponsorship of the courses.[61]

The New York success prompted the Society to recruit the Philadelphia school board and the Public Education Association in a cooperative effort to initiate free lectures in the Pennsylvania metropolis.[62] The earliest efforts consisted of 14 "peoples' lectures" in the winter of 1894, in the poorer sections of the city. Their success led to an "experiment in civic education" the following summer. With funds donated by the members of the Society, a number of 10-week lecture courses convened at meeting places chosen by those who enrolled. Civics was the key course, and over 2,000 persons attended. These lectures may have been an elaborate promotion for regular courses, as three of the lecture audiences subsequently organized themselves into local centers. More likely, they were a sincere effort to reach those who found extension too expensive. James Walk considered them to be "lectures on social pathology," providing an opportunity for the "better off" to study the living habits of the poor, and for the poor to be educated in their civic responsibilities,[63] and to improve their lives by substituting "world gossip for local gossip."[64] Extension periodicals carried free advertising for any course of lectures.[65] In 1898, the Philadelphia school board gave the American Society permission to use school buildings for free lectures.[66]

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[61]Herbert Baxter Adams, "Educational Extension in the United States," in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1899-1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), I, pp. 330-334; *Citizen* 4 (June 1898), 71-74; American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, *Annual Report of the Board of Directors, 1900* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1900), p. 8.

[62]Adams, "Educational Extension," p. 331.

[63]James W. Walk, "Lectures on Social Pathology," *University Extension* 4 (September 1894), 78-84.

[64]Frank S. Edmonds, "An Experiment in Civic Education," *University Extension* 4 (August 1894), 49-61; Edward T. Devine, "People's Lectures," *University Extension Bulletin* 1 (February 16, 1894), 49.

[65]*Citizen* 2 (January 1897), 382.

[66]Ibid. 4 (August 1898), 126.

Enthusiasm for free lectures spread to other cities. They were begun in Baltimore in the 1890s, with Hopkins professors bearing the greatest share of the lecturing. In Chicago, the Ryder Lecture Trust and the extension division of the university jointly sponsored free lectures after 1897. The lectures were usually popularized versions of extension lectures, accompanied by stereopticon slides. Walter Payne reported that regular extension lectures had a more profound and longer effect on the listener than a free lecture, but he urged men of wealth nonetheless to endow a free lecture system for the city.[67] In 1898, Boston joined the list of school boards offering free lectures.[68]

Officials of both the American Society and the University of Chicago supported free lectures with funds, advertisements, and their own lecturers. Competition was slight, as extension catered to the educated middle class and free lectures appealed to the uneducated lower class. One extension official declared that "the virtual darkness and poverty of thought, the hopeless monotony that characterizes the life of the great mass of the people, under the present industrial system have impressed upon educational institutions and upon the educational classes of the community in general . . . the gravity of their responsibility. . . . " Although changes could not be made in a system which imprisons the masses, "our duty of help toward the less instructed of the world is nonetheless obvious and pressing." The best possible means of educating the masses was university extension with its regularity and systematization. Although Chautauqua was the "best known and most influential" adult education agency, extension worked on "a more serious basis." Free lectures could not be compared, in terms of educational value, with extension classes, since the lectures involved no preparation, outside reading or written work. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."[69]

The necessity of a formal role for educational institutions in adult education was obvious to the supporter of extension. Adult education could no longer rely on such informal agencies as libraries, institutes, and private reading.[70] Extension had a dual advantage; it called the university out of its ivory tower and it directed the reading habits of adults. Compared to other adult education means, extension stood out "like a mountain among the hills."[71]

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[67] Payne, p. 105.

[68] Adams, "Educational Extension," p. 344.

[69] *Citizen* 3 (November 1897), 199.

[70] Michael Sadler, "The Development of University Extension," in *Proceedings*, pp. 63-82.

[71] Richard Moulton, "Speech on University Extension in Philadelphia, November 7, 1899," in Box WN, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Extension advocates set adult education apart from the formal ladder of educational agencies, making it a responsibility of formal institutions but not a part of the educational system as such. Even William T. Harris missed this point when he voiced the expectation that many people would use extension to complete high school. Harris was mesmerized by the ladder metaphor, according to which extension had to find its rung somewhere.[72] Edmund James and Richard Moulton viewed extension's task as compensatory education, making up for the weaknesses of rungs of the ladder. Extension did not participate to any extent in meetings of groups such as the National Education Association; again, it stood somewhat apart.

An important theoretical advance occurred when extension lecturers began to develop the idea of adult education as a leisure-time activity. A competent political economist, James recognized the increasing amount of leisure time which men would soon possess, and he argued that there was no better way to use this time than in education. Moulton echoed James's sentiments, and he went so far as to contend that extension often speeded up the rate at which leisure time increased.[73] The concept of adult education as leisure activity was something new in education. Most adult education ventures—the night schools of the 18th century, the lyceums, even Chautauqua—had seen adult education in strongly utilitarian terms. Extension, however, failed to recognize that the majority of people did not have leisure time to indulge in continuing education.

The greatest contribution of university extension to educational thought or practice in the late 19th century was in the development of the concept of adult education. Prior to the university extension movement, most adult education ventures had been independent of formal educational institutions; extension was a mixed breed featuring both independent societies and university extension divisions. Following extension, most adult education efforts were products of formal educational institutions.

The immediate impact of university extension on the educational scene of the 1890s was small when compared to the impact made by the kindergarten or the graduate school. Because of this, it had a proportionately small effect on the sundry reform movements. The greatest problem was that so much of what the extension people said about education in general, or about school reforms, or the spread of libraries, was said as well or better by others. Extension did make a contribution in

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[72] William T. Harris, "University and School Extension," in National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, Session of the Year, 1890, Held at St. Paul, Minnesota* (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1890), pp. 242-253.

[73] *Handbook of University Extension*, pp. xiii-xv.

constructing a theoretical base for increasing the social role of the university, although the effect of this was not felt until after 1910, when extension dropped its English attributes and linked up with state universities. Most important, it developed a fairly systematic view of both the nature and the goals of adult education, a view which adult education agencies would embellish but not substantially change in the years following World War I.

URBAN CRISIS

Following the Civil War, a thread of reform linked radical Republicans with Mugwumps, Populists, Progressives, New Dealers, and Fair Dealers. The thread is continuous, even through the 1920s; but it is multifaceted and interwoven, composed of divergent strands, such as Kansas farmers and Boston brahmins, and involving causes which range from subtreasuries to public baths.

When the February-March, 1969, issue of the National University Extension Association (NUEA) *Spectator* headlined the question: "The Urban Crisis: What is University Extension Doing?" it recalled a theme which had aroused extension people 80 years earlier. The reform movement in the 1890s took a sharp turn in the direction of urban problems, and the reform viewpoints of extension people shared in this revised perspective. The city, with its rapidly growing population of European and native American immigrants, was a focus of concern. The population increase strained antiquated municipal governments and allowed opportunistic men to use the confusion for their personal advantage. Municipal services and utilities fell under the control of the corporation and the boss, who formed an alliance at the expense of the taxpayer. Immigrants posed problems of schooling, employment, and Americanization. Public health was endangered by tenement conditions, and the sorting out of residential neighborhoods by economic factors continued. A working proletariat was created by industrialization, and many citizens feared that radicalism and violence would be associated with the organization of the workers, especially after the Pullman strike of 1894, which was speedily repressed. State labor commissions worked to gather data to prepare legislation against the worst industrial abuses.

The extension movement's leaders believed that their efforts comprised an important manifestation of the reform spirit of the 1890s; education could do as much for reform as settlement houses or labor legislation. Their broader concept of extension's role in society recognized that: (1) the English extension movement had had a sincere interest in the welfare of the

worker, and this interest carried over to America; (2) lecturers frequently came from the ranks of professors who had an activist social orientation; and (3) subscriptions to publications declined when they featured only extension, but gained when other types of stories appeared.

In the 19th century, Social Darwinists argued that, although contemporary society might not be perfect, evolutionary laws were working slowly toward improvement, and cautioned that tinkering with society would be disastrous to the fragile social order. This viewpoint found no support, however, in extension quarters. Joseph F. Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania insisted that government is like a great engine, manageable by men, not run by immutable laws.[1] But reform meant more than just tinkering with the machinery of government; the minds of men had to be improved.[2]

Reform was necessary because of the rapidity of social change and the dislocations it had caused.[3] What was needed was a "higher civic life," and many extension leaders were willing to join reformers in this quest. In this alliance, extension would play the role of the conservator of the best of the past, while reformers would plan the future society.[4] As extension people were fond of pointing out, their courses mysteriously combined a conservative and liberal viewpoint; "There is no inconsistency between the ringing call to resentment at corruption in office and fraud in business which comes from the moral reformer, and the call to greater confidence in established institutions which comes from the social conservative. . . . The two unite with real unity in the ideal university extension lecture. . . . And, thus, instruction in literature, art, or science, in history or economics, may lead to a higher and better type of civic life."[5]

The type of professor which the extension movement attracted as lecturer increased its commitment. Among them were professors such as Edward Bemis, a progressive by any standards of the 1890s, whose liberal social and political views caused him difficulty in finding and retaining a teaching position. Charles Zueblin came to extension from a career in settlement

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[1]Joseph F. Johnson, "The College Professor and Politics," *University Extension* 3 (December 1893), 188-193.

[2]*Citizen* 2 (April 1896), 42.

[3]W. C. Lawton, "The American Scholar," *University Extension* 3 (May 1894), 373-383; E. Ellis Edwards, "University Extension Lay Lecturers," *Ibid.* 4 (December 1894), 185-189.

[4]Edward T. Devine, "What Has the American Society Accomplished?" Ibid. 4 (September 1894), 65-77.

[5]Ibid. 69.

house work and was a student of municipal problems. Edward T. Devine, after leaving an administrative position with the American Society, became secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society and editor of its progressive magazine, *Survey*. Richard T. Ely and Edmund J. James were not so active as these men, but in their writings they supported reform causes. In the 1890s, academics drew up a bill of criticism of the industrial and political order and found it wanting in many respects. Extension attracted such critics as its lecturers. The professor who spent evenings in his study was more likely to be a conservative than the man who rode the trolley across Philadelphia or Chicago to lecture to an extension class.

If many of those involved in the extension movement sought reform, the exception should have been the Philadelphia elite. About these people, E. Digby Baltzell says that, huddled in their private community around Rittenhouse Square, they "definitely felt themselves to be different and aloof" from the rest of American society. Baltzell dismisses any reform interest on their part: "No one on Victorian Rittenhouse Square would ever [think] of questioning the essential rightness of the social structure." And, "Any suggestion that the basic institutional patterns needed reforming generally found the Proper Philadelphian either indifferent or adamantly in opposition."[6] But these same people supported a society whose lecturers and publications frequently spoke out for social reforms. The explanation may be that particular reforms—efficiency in City government, civil service, better municipal services, public health—had appeal to old urban families.

The promoters of the extension movement were realistic and offered suggestions to reformers. They must not be too moralistic and must not be mere shouters for reform but continuous workers for it. Reform was not to be left to the "goodish," to those too proud to learn from the boss.[7] Extension supporters recognized the dangers of indignant talk without action, and the political ability of the boss.

Extension accepted the city as the only environment which contained enough people and funds to support the movement. Whereas a handful of people could organize a Chautauqua circle quite informally, and at little expense, extension required considerable advance planning, advertising, and financing, as well as constant replenishment of the potential audience. An urban location also enabled professors to teach by day at the university and by night at the extension center, and had meeting halls large enough to hold the several hundred persons who made up an average extension class.

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[6] E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 187, 254.

[7] *Citizen* 1 (November 1895), 200; Ibid. 1 (December 1895), 223-224; Ibid. 2 (May 1896), 83.

However, the cities faced a governmental crisis. As population increased, problems and need for services grew. When the levels of corruption became obvious, local reform organizations appeared, based on a middle class, residential constituency of old urban families. In 1894, these elements coalesced into the National Municipal League. Nonpartisan and interested in efficient city government, the reform groups fought the boss, campaigned for zoning regulations, lobbied legislatures for modernized city charters granting more self-government, and urged municipal ownership of utilities and transportation systems.

The extension worker never separated his role of educator from that of reformer. He viewed the arousal of the public as a golden opportunity to preach civics: "The chief aim of municipal as well as of all political reform must be the instruction of the people. . . . Here is the opportunity for the extension lecturer. . . . Not only can he bring the instruction right home to them, but, if he be possessed of true missionary zeal, he can arouse their interest in municipal problems and their active interest in reform would naturally follow."[8]

The American Society's *Citizen* gave strong editorial endorsements to reform coalitions in New York, Chicago, and Washington. There was special praise for Rev. Charles Parkhurst, a New York minister conducting a campaign against vice, and recognition that "an important part of the work must be accomplished by private enterprise, by the hearty cooperation of public-spirited citizens."[9] When reform won an electoral victory in Chicago in 1895, an otherwise jubilant editorial warned that, in addition to throwing out the corrupt politicians, the victors would have to prove that they could accomplish much good now that they had gained control of the city.[10]

Civil service reform obtained the strongest support from extension people. In June 1896, the *Citizen* reviewed developments at the federal level since 1883, and concluded that the improvement provided substantive evidence of the necessity of local civil service systems which would strike at the heart of corruption, the boss, and his patronage power.[11] In 1896, the National Civil Service Reform League met in Philadelphia. The *Citizen* provided a full report for its readers, comparing the reformers to the abolitionists in terms of the ridicule they had endured. The convention declared that

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[8]"University Extension and Municipal Reform," *University Extension Bulletin* 1 (January 17, 1894), 50.

[9]*Citizen* 1 (April 1895), 27-29.

[10]Ibid. 1 (May 1895), 51-52.

[11]Ibid. 2 (June 1896), 121-123.

American Cities were not governed by the best or even the richest, but by political oligarchs whose power was breakable only by an expanded civil list and by greater popular participation in primary elections.[12] Extension publications warned in 1898 that good citizens must be watchdogs of the civil service and allow no backsliding.[13] Extension support came not only from its general interest in the improvement of city government but also from the fact that advocates of extension and supporters of civil service reform came from similar backgrounds. They were both old-stock, urban, Easterners, equally confused by the bewildering changes in their urban world. Before fleeing the city, they attempted to educate the newcomers in their social and civic duties.

The impact of extension's support for municipal reform in general was largest when it joined a local coalition and espoused particular reforms. The best examples of this are the actions of the American Society in Philadelphia between 1894 and 1898. In the 1890s, Philadelphia was as badly governed as most American cities, and the extension publication concentrated its attention on the absence of municipal services, and on the quality and ownership of public utilities.

The lengthiest campaign was a 3-year effort to improve the water system. In 1895, the *Citizen* pleaded editorially for the installation of filtration; the following year the city council decided against it, even though a majority of the population seemed to approve. This provoked an angry editorial demanding mechanical filtration which was hygienic and efficient. To bolster its argument, the *Citizen* assigned its investigative reporter, Albert A. Bird, to write a four-part article on "The Water Supply of Philadelphia." Bird's muckraking style exposed the terrible conditions in the water works. By 1898, the city had still refused to act, so another editorial broadside demanded sand filtration. When the *Citizen* ceased publication in the summer of 1898, the council had not yet acted, but there were indications that it would soon do so.[14]

In one instance, the *Citizen* supported public ownership of municipal services even when the private owner was an extension official. In 1897, the city administration proposed to sell the publicly-owned Philadelphia Gas Works to a private firm, the United Gas Improvement Company, whose president was Samuel T. Bodine, board member of the American Society. An editorial charged that the sale would result in large profits for a few, and

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[12] Ibid. 2 (December 1896), 325-326.

[13] Ibid. 3 (January 1898), 246.

[14] *Citizen* 1 (October 1895), 179-183; Ibid. 2 (April 1896), 43; A. A. Bird, "The Water Supply of Philadelphia," Ibid. 2 (October 1896), 270-273; Ibid. 4 (April 1898), 26-27.

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urged the retention of municipal ownership for the good of all. As in the water affair, a staff lecturer, F. W. Speirs, prepared an article on the "History of the Gas Franchise in Philadelphia," and the conclusions, not surprisingly, paralleled those of his editor.[15]

The urban transportation revolution, caused by the horse car and the trolley, enriched a few traction magnates who provided poor service at high fares. Philadelphia's street railway system was overcrowded and overpriced, and since the city charter provided for the possibility of municipal ownership, the *Citizen* urged it to take action, arguing that in private hands street railways tended to exploit and that, therefore, they must submit to close regulation for the benefit of the consumer.[16]

The program of the American Society supported reforms that were of special value to the middle and upper class members who supported it. Aimed at a clean, safe, healthy, efficient city, they did not normally include reforms of benefit to the lower classes. A typical reform program praised by the Society was that of the Civic Club of Philadelphia. It included school board work, the organization of children into "Leagues of Good Citizenship," the opening of school playgrounds during the summer, the placing of libraries in fire stations, an investigation of the sewer system, and the conversion of a few tenements into "decent habitations" to be leased at low rent.[17] Only the last could be considered of peculiar importance to the poor.

One reason why city governments became corrupt and municipal services inadequate was the arrival of thousands of immigrants. The native American fleeing from a decaying rural life soon disappeared from the attention of both contemporaries and later historians. Their clothing, language, religion, residences, and economic condition caused the European arrivals to retain their identity in the minds of old urban residents. The immigrant caused many problems, but from the point of view of extension leaders the greatest was education. Extension people believed the immigrant presented to society *potential* dangers which only hearty doses of common school education for the children and extension classes for the adults could ward off. These classes filled their minds with correct ideas about America and did not perpetuate the "perverted notions and evil social theories held by many of them . . . ." Better that extension

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[15] Ibid. 3 (November 1897), 197; F. W. Speirs, "History of the Gas Franchise in Philadelphia," Ibid. 3 (November 1897), 201-203.

[16] Ibid. 3 (February 1898), 269-270; Ibid. 4 (June 1898), 72-73.

[17] "A Year's Work of a Civic Club," Ibid. 2 (February 1897), 396-397.

lecturers instruct them in government than the "ward heeler and political boss, as has been the case in the past."[18]

Attracting immigrants to extension courses posed all the problems of interesting the middle class, complicated further by a language barrier and a lack of leisure time. Significantly, the first advice came from a Russian immigrant, Dr. Charles Spivak, who asserted that "there exists among the foreigners a craving for knowledge," and that they could be "easily reached by the university extension lecturer, but only by such as will employ the tongue they understand." He suggested that the best lecturer was not an American professor but a professional member of the immigrant community. Spivak made no suggestions for courses of special interest to immigrants, but he did insist that after the first few courses, the language of instruction switch to English, to provide an incentive to learn the new tongue.[19]

While Spivak wrote, the first extension classes for immigrants were being held in Philadelphia. Civics courses attracted over 400 Jewish immigrants, with the avowed goal of Americanization through education. It is interesting that the Society arranged a parallel course for Philadelphia blacks, with the same general goal.[20] Edward Devine was the lecturer, and a reporter commented that Devine had changed the attitude of his students toward government: "I must admit that no side of [extension] has left so deep an impression on me as this. We must do as Dr. Devine has done – go to them."[21] Throughout the remainder of the decade, there were other courses for immigrants, especially in Philadelphia, where the Jews proved most receptive and the Hebrew Literary Society sponsored several courses.

The settlement house was one of the most important educational agencies providing a point of contact for the new and old urban dweller, a channel of communication between Yankee and immigrant, between the college-educated and the untutored. The settlement houses created vast educational programs, including kindergartens, handicraft classes, readings and plays, and extension lectures. Extension periodicals praised the settlement as a "noble attempt to strengthen the brotherhood of men, to

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[18]"University Extension and Our Foreigners," *University Extension* 4 (September 1894), 93-94.

[19]Charles D. Spivak, "University Extension and Our Foreign Population," *University Extension Bulletin* 1 (November 1, 1893), 5.

[20]Lyman P. Powell, "Extension Study of Civics and History," *University Extension* 3 (October 1893), 109-117.

[21]L. S. Rowe, "Our Foreigners and Civics," *University Extension Bulletin* 1 (December 8, 1893), 33.

know what the poor think and feel. . . ."[22] Allen Davis, however, in his recent study of the settlement movement, concludes that extension courses were an insignificant part of the total educational program. Although extension classes satisfied the desire of college-trained settlement directors to make use of their schooling, the settlements were more likely to sponsor informal adult education, individual lectures, demonstrations, and conferences.

University extension, as conceived by both the American Society and the University of Chicago, was a fairly rigid system based on an English model, expensive to conduct and assuming previous education. Furthermore, those who used the settlement houses needed something concrete, such as homemaking lessons, not lectures on English literature or music.[23] This distinction was best illustrated by the reception which kindergartens received in settlement houses. They were useful to working mothers, beneficial to the children, and natural activities for settlement women. On the contrary, extension offered no concrete services and required the importation of a lecturer from outside the community.

Although many Americans despaired of assimilating the immigrants and demanded restrictions, no calls for immigration restriction came from extension quarters. In an age of hypernationalism and increasing racial consciousness, the extension movement is unusual for its fair-minded attitudes. Extension spokesmen, who were urban in the majority, did not accept the view of a local merchant in a rural town, who believed that extension classes would be a waste of time since the town had many foreigners who "do not favor education."[24]

Public health was a problem both urban and related to poorer immigrants. Thousands of immigrants and other poor crammed into ill-ventilated tenements, with improper facilities for sewage disposal, created a disease emergency. Advocates of extension believed that they had found an area in which they could provide another service. At the Second National Conference in 1892, Dr. Murray G. Motter of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, read a paper on "Practical Hygiene as a Subject for University Extension," and outlined a plan for a standard six-lecture course.[25] In Cleveland, where

[22] Ibid. 3 (August 1897), 129.

[23] Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 43-47.

[24] E. L. Cloupch to Jerome Raymond, January 15, 1896 in Jerome Raymond Papers, University of Wisconsin Archives.

[25] *University Extension World* 1 (February 1893), 36-37; Murray Motter, "Hygiene as an Extension Study," *University Extension* 2 (February 1893), 210-212.

the wealthy subsidized such a course, T. P. Wilson reported that "in our instruction hygiene has held a foremost place and the laws of health enforced with great plainness. So far, flattering encomiums have been given to our work."[26]

The leading figure in public health extension was Dr. Charles Spivak. He went into the poorest neighborhoods of south Philadelphia and lectured on public health to nearly 200 persons, speaking in English and using no unnecessary medical terms. The audience consisted of poor workingmen, many of them unemployed as a result of the depression, and yet over 30 purchased textbooks and 60 wrote weekly papers.[27] Spivak's course occasioned much favorable comment. "There is no subject that extension centers could devote themselves to with more beneficient effects than the education of the people in the laws of health and the correct methods of promoting good sanitation."[28] "Were there more public-spirited men like Dr. Spivak, possessed of his missionary zeal, it would not take long to dissipate the many evils growing out of the presence of the great masses of ignorant foreigners in this country."[29] Spivak himself reported that "My experience of two years taught me that the people are only too glad to be taught. Let [extension] aid in making our cities healthier. . . ."[30]

The offering of public health courses was another example of a reform which easily appealed to the supporters of extension. The danger of disease was everywhere in the city, most prominent in the poor neighborhoods, but the threat of contagion affected even those better off. To support public health courses was to increase one's own security. Extension's contribution in this field was substantial, as recognized by Walton Bittner in 1919: "One of the first fields of propaganda and instruction through various devices of university extension was that of health. Ever since the beginning . . . lectures and popular talks on health topics were given in many states."[31]

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[26]T. P. Wilson, "A Medical Extension Course," *University Extension Bulletin* 1 (January 17, 1894), 41-42.

[27]Charles D. Spivak, "Extension Teaching and Public Health," *University Extension* 3 (April 1894), 332-338.

[28]"Public Health and Extension Teaching," *University Extension Bulletin* 1 (April 2, 1894), 74.

[29]"Dr. C. D. Spivak," Ibid. 1 (February 16, 1894), 50.

[30]Charles D. Spivak, "The Extension Study of Hygiene," Ibid. 1 (April 2, 1894), 80.

[31]Walton S. Bittner, "The University Extension Movement," in Bulletin 84 of the Bureau of Education (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 51.

Another focus of reform sentiments was the laboring man and his role in the extension movement. From the beginning, English extension had attracted significant numbers of skilled artisans and a few of the very poor.[32] Early American efforts also sought out the laborer, in east Baltimore, in Buffalo, and in Philadelphia.[33] Then a flood of prose appeared after about 1894, concerned with extension's failure to attract the laborer, and with ways this might be remedied. The general goal of extension in relation to the laborer was stated in 1891. "It will reach the work shops; it will reach all the schools; it will reach *every class* in the community."[34]

At first, however, the extension societies were deeply involved in their own organizational problems and had little time to devote to efforts to reach laborers. The leaders believed their work first had to be established on a solid footing among the middle class, before it could seek out those below. "A beginning has been made by interesting great labor organizations in the cause," and interest in it would filter down to union members.[35]

This was not, however, a tranquil time on the labor scene in which to launch an educational program. The depression of 1893 introduced a period of intense strife between management and labor, culminating in the Pullman strike of 1894. Within the labor movement, the American Federation of Labor was consolidating its victory over the Knights of Labor. There is no record of the AF of L offering any positive assistance to extension's efforts to educate laborers, although President Samuel Gompers did send P. J. McGuire as his personal representative to the First National Conference, at which McGuire expressed the sympathy of organized labor for extension.[36]

Although the failure of university extension's influence on laborers was general, there were specific instances of success. The earliest course sponsored by the American Society met at St. Timothy's Workingmen's Center in the Roxborough district of Philadelphia. The center was located near the Pencoyd Iron Works, and the lecturer selected chemistry as the course topic. Strikes and fires interfered with the further courses at this

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[32]See Chapter 1.

[33]See Chapter 3.

[34]*Book News*, p. 35.

[35]"Notes," in *University Extension* 1 (May 1892), 365.

[36]*Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the National Conference on University Extension . . .* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1892), p. 14.

center.[37] Another brief success was the Michael E. Sadler local center, named for their distinguished countryman by English immigrant laborers.[38] A. A. Bird gave free lectures to the employees of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and interested a great number of them with his course on municipal government.[39] A heartwarming story is that of W. Hudson Shaw's course on Elizabethan history, at the conclusion of which over 400 poor workers presented him with an armful of roses.[40] There was a center for blacks on Bainbridge Street, which Shaw termed one of the best he had seen in England or America, and his success there and at the Kensington laborers' center led him to remark that "it is a libel that [workingmen] won't accept us. I have never seen in Manchester or Birmingham artisans so ready."[41] Pleading for funds, the American Society summarized its work with laborers. There were 10 local centers predominantly for workers, which had presented 28 courses to a total of 22,400 persons, or only about 3 percent of the total enrollment in courses offered by the Society.[42]

E. L. S. Horsburgh, an Englishman, presented the first full-scale discussion of why and how the American extension movement must reach the laborer. Horsburgh urged American societies to use different tactics than did the English, since American laborers were aware of their equal status in a democracy, while the Englishmen recognized the stratified nature of their society. Horsburgh warned that those seeking the laborer must be aware of his independence, his want of leisure, his lack of previous training, and his financial conditions. Local centers for laborers should be endowed by the wealthy, controlled by the clients, and staffed by sympathetic lecturers who would use local problems as springboards to serious discussions.[43]

Even as Horsburgh exhorted, Edmund J. James was explaining away the failure of the American Society to reach the laborer. "We will reach them as soon as may be," he said, "but extension is not for these people alone and it

[37] George Henderson, "The Report of the American Society . . ., November 3, 1890 December 31, 1891," in *Proceedings*, pp. 221-268.

[38] "Notes," in *University Extension* 2 (January 1893), 221.

[39] *Citizen* 1 (January 1896), 268.

[40] Ibid. 2 (July 1896), 156-157.

[41] "Mr. Hudson Shaw's Report," in *Citizen* 2 (June 1896), 144-145.

[42] American Society . . ., *Concerning University Extension: Its Significance, Methods and Results* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1898), p. 13.

[43] E. L. S. Horsburgh, "University Extension in Relation to the Working Classes," *University Extension* 3 (August 1893), 41-50.

is important even if confined to the wealthy."[44] In a biting article written in 1894, David Kinley of the University of Illinois laid the blame for not reaching workingmen squarely at the door of extension agencies. They had deceived themselves into believing that there was a substantial demand for extension among laborers, and lecturers had adopted a patronizing air, for "we do so love to play the teacher." Finally, lecturers had emphasized "mental training" over information, and he had bored laborers with talks on irrelevant topics.[45] Charles Zueblin echoed Kinley, and insisted that a successful lecturer "must have purged himself of the prejudices of the bourgeoisie." He urged those who wanted to win the laborers' confidence to read union literature, attend socialist meetings, meet some unionists, and live in a settlement house, which "would prove invaluable."[46]

Many reports attest to extension's failure to attract laborers to lectures. Edward Bemis summed up 2 years of efforts in Chicago by admitting his failure, and he pessimistically observed that "very large success is not immediately probable."[47] From Canada, T. J. MacLaughlin expressed frustration, recording that lecturers had visited laborers' homes and union lodges without "inviting the slightest interest."[48] Robert E. Thompson summed up the prevailing puzzlement: "Just what is the way [to attract laborers] is hard to tell."[49] Some did not lose hope, however. Edmund James reiterated the natural early appeal of extension to the middle class, and contended that each year the circle had widened and a few more laborers become interested. This is "a slow process at best" and only continuable if funded by the wealthy.[50] Richard Moulton urged lecturers to go out "into the forges and workshops," now that extension had a solid middle class base on which to build.[51]

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[44]Edmund J. James, *First Annual Report to the Corporation and Members of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching*, (Philadelphia: The Society, 1893), pp. 10-11.

[45]David Kinley, "University Extension and the Workingman," *University Extension* 3 (January 1894), 205-212.

[46]Charles Zueblin, "The Lecturer and the Laborer," Ibid., 213-216.

[47]E. W. Bemis, "University Extension among the Wageworkers," Ibid. 4 (October 1894), 97-102.

[48]T. J. MacLaughlin, "University Extension in Canada," Ibid. 3 (March 1894), 309-317.

[49]R. E. Thompson, "Observations on University Extension," Ibid. 3 (June 1894), 391-396.

[50]Edmund J. James, *Review of the Work of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching for the Four Years 1891-1894* (Philadelphia: The Society, 1895), p. 5.

[51]R. G. Moulton, "An Ancient Prophecy against University Extension," *University Extension* 4 (July 1894), 1-6.

What were the causes of the failure of laborers to respond to extension? For one, there was the cost of extension lectures, the usual rate being about $1.50 for a six-lecture course. Even with reduced rates for laborers, this was a large part of a week's pay. And, as in Philadelphia, most local centers were in middle class areas, far from the homes of workingmen, who thus had added expense for streetcar fare. Many classes met in Protestant churches, which Edward Bemis nicely described as "terra incognita" to many laborers.[52] Extension classes also presumed a great deal of previous schooling, which few laborers had. Finally, the worker had little time to prepare for class, write exercises, or do outside reading. In short, the entire structure of extension courses was arranged for a life style different than that of the laborer.

Contact with laborers, however limited, led extension people to have sympathy for their plight, although the labor violence of the 1890s tested this sympathy severely. During the Pullman strike, when Grover Cleveland sent in federal troops to keep the mails moving, extension periodicals published conciliatory and passionless editorials;[53] and in 1896, when a motormen's strike in Philadelphia led to street violence, the *Citizen* editorialized that the rioters were not the employees or the "better class of citizens" but a mob of ruffians and teenagers. The traction company must bear a large burden of guilt for the violence as it had defied labor laws by sharp practices.[54] Charles Zueblin explained the advocacy of extension. "The university man who is in earnest in his endeavor to educate the workingman will soon see that it is quite as necessary to secure an 8-hour working day as to carry out a propaganda of education through the [extension] centers. In fact the tendency is almost as irresistible to preach social reform as to preach the extension of the university."[55]

The late 1890s witnessed a change in the attitude toward laborers, growing out of frustration at the failure of labor to respond to extension, and also out of despair with continuing labor strife. The *Citizen* took umbrage at the idea that the laborer was denied opportunity for self-improvement, when libraries, museums, and extension lecturers existed in such abundance. Furthermore, its editors declared it "a somewhat foolish notion that work for 10 hours in 24 in ordinary occupation exhausts the nervous forces."[56]

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[52]Bemis, 99.

[53]"The Signs of the Times," *University Extension Bulletin* 1 (August 1, 1894), 133; "The Question of Cain," *University Extension World* 3 (June 1894), 163.

[54]*Citizen* 1 (January 1896), 247.

[55]Charles Zueblin, "The Universities and the Workingman," *University Extension World* 2 (October 1893), 151.

[56]*Citizen* 2 (May 1897), 52-54.

The same publication concluded in 1898 that, with the exception of a few in sweat shops, "wage earners were never better off."[57]

Extension could have become an initial link between an increasingly liberal and socially conscious professoriat and the laborer and his problems. Extension efforts were doomed from the start, however; lecturers were sincere in their efforts, but, as Zueblin put it, they could not overcome their middle class viewpoint and mannerisms. Instead, they attempted to adapt the system to laborers by reduction of cost, nonscholarly lectures, and laborer-controlled local centers. In 1919 Walton Bittner said that extension had generally ignored the possible contributions of laborers to both the spirit and content of adult education. "They have not said to the working people: come and help us work out a program."[58]

The Populist interlude, new foreign entanglements, and the growth of feminism, now diverted the attention of Americans. The historical debate over the sophistication of Populist social criticism continues, but there is unanimity as to the fact of its rural underpinnings. Rooted in an urban culture, extension people expressed little sympathy for Populist ideology and economic theory. As early as 1892, James had given an extension course on "The History and Theory of Money," at the request of Philadelphia bankers. An editorial indicated that the course was a great success, and that such courses would rid the country of the danger of free-silver legislation.[59] Anti-silver editorials graced the pages of the *Citizen*, although it was unusual for this publication to take a specific stand on a matter of national policy;[60] Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech was found unimpressive and its impact chalked up to the heightened emotions of the convention hall.[61] In the month of the hotly contested election of 1896, the *Citizen* published an editorial linking the principal issue to university extension. "We are suddenly forced to decide by popular vote a matter of economic policy with which Congress has played, without dispatching it, for nearly 20 years." The editorial also noted that this issue is complex, and few Americans have had the benefit of extension classes in economics to aid their perception. There followed a clear statement of the American dream as perceived by the middle class of the 1890s; a fair field open to all, a poor

[57] Ibid. 3 (February 1898), 270.

[58] Bittner, p. 20.

[59] "Notes," *University Extension* 1 (April 1892), 335.

[60] *Citizen* 1 (July 1895), 97-100.

[61] Ibid. 2 (August 1896), 194-195.

childhood is no hindrance, come win your share if you can.[62] Populism was interpreted as a dramatic example of the necessary spread of extension into rural areas.

If extension's attitude toward Populism mirrored its urban bias, its attitudes on foreign affairs reflected upper-class America. Among the most Anglophile was the Philadelphia community which supported the American Society.[63] Anglophilism included suggestions for arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, sought exchanges of university students, and supported the racial philosophy of the "white man's burden."[64] As W. Hudson Shaw put it: "University extension is to train good citizens . . . to aid England and America in the great task which has been assigned to them. . . ."[65]

When President Cleveland and Secretary of State Richard Olney led the United States to the brink of war with Great Britain over the boundary of Venezuela, the *Citizen* published an apoplectic editorial, denouncing their policy as "a shameful and wicked thing," and Cleveland's message as "unnecessarily belligerent." "England and America can't afford to make war on each other."[66] It then assigned a reporter to prepare an article which proved that the Monroe Doctrine gave Cleveland no right for his high-handed actions.[67]

The Spanish-American War found extension people with a schizophrenic attitude, cautious before the war, yet afterward accepting the inevitability of America's world role. The declaration of war brought regret that the "deliberate, irresistible, and peaceful policy of Mr. McKinley has been precipitated by the hasty and headstrong attitude of Congress." The only good omen was "that Great Britain stands with us, the one nation prompt to understand and to commend our action." Now that "the Anglo-Saxon has set his hand to clean up the bit of chaos that is Cuba . . . before he stops he will do it."[68] And, "all signs now point to the emergence of the United

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[62]Ibid. 2 (November 1896), 289-290.

[63]Baltzell, p. 249.

[64]*Citizen* 1 (March 1895), 6; Ibid. 2 (March 1896), 3; Ibid. 3 (April 1897), 28-29.

[65]W. Hudson Shaw to editor of *Citizen*, Ibid. 1 (March 1895), 7-8.

[66]Ibid. 1 (December 1895), 226; Ibid. 1 (January 1896), 248.

[67]"The Monroe Doctrine and the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute," (unsigned) Ibid. 2 (March 1896), 6-10.

[68]Ibid. 4 (May 1898), 47-49.

States as a world power."[69] The Philippine matter disturbed all Americans, and extension publications sided with the majority in favoring a protectorate over the islands. The war was a sordid affair and "most important is that we shall come out of [it] quickly and with motives unimpugned."[70]

Extension leaders saw the women's movement for equality as "an event of tremendous significance" for women, who had been long denied equal opportunity in higher education, for social or financial reasons. The attitudes of extension people toward the feminist movement combined new ideas with an old emphasis on the unique role of women. Men and women have "not unequal capabilities" and "identical interests"; there was no reason why a woman should not have a public life, "doing what she can do and leaving undone what she cannot do." No one had produced evidence that professional women had lost the "three graces of good breeding, good taste and good sense."[71] Accordingly, extension publications urged that women serve on school boards, and that they engage in reform and patriotic organizations. But suffrage was not mentioned.[72] Extension was useful for women because it was "a highly spiritual movement."[73] Women still had a special place in the world as "the conservators of those beautiful and delicate things which give to life whatever bloom it has; love, charity, religion, children, home, all are in their keeping. They are the idealists to whom the spiritual is real."[74] Despite these lofty sentiments, women did not play an important role in the extension movement. Although they made up the majority of the audience, there was never a woman lecturer, and it was not until after 1900 that a separate women's board was created for the American Society, at the insistence of Hudson Shaw.

The extension movement approached the social problems of the 1890s in a missionary spirit, a kind of secular version of the enthusiasm of the circuit-riding Methodist preacher. Richard G. Moulton summed it up well. "To infuse a missionary spirit into culture, that is the purpose of university

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[69] Ibid. 4 (July 1898), 99-100.

[70] Ibid. 4 (July 1898), 71-72.

[71] "Women in Society," *Citizen* 2 (February 1897), 393-394.

[72] Ibid. 1 (February 1896), 276.

[73] E. L. Head, "American Women and University Extension," *University Extension* 1 (August 1891), 41-47.

[74] *Citizen* 3 (July 1897), 101-102.

extension."[75] As early as 1885, Moulton had indicated that extension was a "missionary movement."[76] Charles Zueblin stated that "the pioneers of university extension in this country were missionaries and enthusiasts. They dreamed of a system of popular education which would promote culture among the masses."[77] Charles Henderson closed his promotional article on extension with a reference to the call of Pope Urban VII and Peter the Hermit for a crusade; in Henderson's case, the crusade was for adult education.[78] Extension people regarded English visitors as missionaries, and called themselves the "Salvation Army of Education," declaring that the lecturer was an apostle and evangelist.[79] Edward Bemis related the story of a letter he received from an Episcopalian, inquiring if he could participate in extension classes, as he believed extension to be a branch of the Methodist church.[80]

Was there any substance behind this rhetoric? Lecturers really did view themselves as circuit riding missionaries of culture, and Charles Brinley and Moulton pointed out the absolute necessity of enthusiasm for a successful lecturer. The use of religious rhetoric enabled extension people to transfer the burden for social salvation from church to school. They spoke of enthusiasm because enthusiasm was necessary to keep adults interested.

Missionary rhetoric cooled when evidence indicated that extension would not sweep the country. Richard G. Moulton, however, never lost the spirit; and speaking before the 1917 convention of the NUEA, he sounded strangely out of place before a body of administrators, when he renewed his faith that "every loyal alumnus of a university must be a missionary of university extension."[81] Those who took over extension after about 1910

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[75] "Address of R. G. Moulton on the University Extension Movement," (Philadelphia: The Society, n.d.), p. 19.

[76] R. G. Moulton, *The University Extension Movement* (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1885), p. 32.

[77] Charles Zueblin, "Results and Prospects of University Extension," *Dial* 22 (April 1, 1897), 207-209.

[78] Charles Henderson, *University Extension* (New York: D. Appleton, 1892), p. 15.

[79] W. Iddian Moulton, *Richard G. Moulton: A Memoir by His Nephew* (London: Epworth Press, 1926), p. 78; "Notes," *University Extension* 2 (October 1892), 128; M.E. Sadler, "Prospects of University Extension in England," *University Extension* 1 (August 1891), 33-40; E. J. James, "The University Extension Lecturer," Ibid. 1 (February 1892), 250-260.

[80] E. J. Devine "The University Extension Syllabus," Ibid. 3 (September 1893), 77-86.

[81] National University Extension Association, *Proceedings*, 1917, p. 59.

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were a breed different from those who had guided it through the 1890s.[82] They were more pragmatic and less enthusiastic, regarded extension as well-established, and made no claims about evangelizing culture.

How important was the expression of reform sentiment by extension people and publications? First, as in the case of educational reform, extension people jumped on bandwagons rather than created new ones, and the effect on the course of the reform movement was slight. However, the effect on the people who took part in extension was significant. The lecturers who lived and worked in the cities, lecturing to workingmen, acquired a clearer perception of the difficulties of slum life. The extension student or supporter who read the publications of the University of Chicago or the American Society could not long have persisted in the idea that society was perfect, or that reformers were dangerous radicals. The laboring poor who happened to be touched by a gifted lecturer realized that someone cared, that someone was concerned about their difficulties. But on the whole, extension was more important for its supporters, administrators, and teachers than for its clients. It combined a controlled distaste for the inequalities and injustices of the urban, industrial order with a belief that extension assisted in their painless elimination. Thus, many did view extension as a respectable and a safe means of reform. Extension was able to keep some members of the urban middle and upper classes interested in reform by anchoring it both to traditional values of education and to a religious rhetoric. As such, it may have served as a bridge for these people to cross from Mugwumpery to Progressivism.

[82] See Chapter 9.

DECLINE AND REORIENTATION: 1900-1915

Melvil Dewey was puzzled. Ten years service at the forefront of extension activities at the University of the State of New York had convinced him that extension was a practical and valuable means of adult education. Yet the enterprise had failed to capture the interest of large numbers of people. In 1898, Dewey sent a letter to the principal extension agencies inquiring about the reasons for this failure.[1]

By the mid-1890s, the extension divisions of both the Universities of Kansas and Wisconsin were in decline, and activity in New York State was minimal.[2] Only in Philadelphia and Chicago did extension classes continue to flourish. James Earl Russell concluded his 1895 dissertation on extension with the speculation that "the outlook for systematic organization in America is very obscure." Since no single plan suited all sections of the country, Russell predicted continued diversification "after the American fashion till the need of union becomes too strong to be resisted."[3]

In Philadelphia, the American Society contracted to two local centers by 1910. Its remaining students sought more popular topics, treated in individual lectures, as well as concerts and readings. Extension became more entertaining than educational. At Chicago, faculty discontent resulted in the departure of several of the most active lecturers, and the program was discontinued. The University of Wisconsin began a reorientation of extension, based on the land grant heritage of service to the public. This "Wisconsin idea" spread to other universities, and in 1915 the

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[1]Melvil Dewey to A. W. Tressler [1898], in Tressler Papers, Series 18/1/1-5, University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison.

[2]See Chapter 5.

[3]James Earl Russell, "The Extension of University Teaching in England and America: A Study in Practical Pedagogics," (Leipzig: n.p., 1895), p. 203.

National University Extension Association (NUEA) was formed, with a program based on the Wisconsin plan.

The decline of extension on the English model was heralded, first, by a decline in attendance at extension courses after 1910. The American Society and the University of Chicago confined their work to local centers near their urban headquarters. Second, the quality of extension work declined. The pioneers of extension in America fully believed that their courses could be equal in all respects to those offered in universities, and anticipated that strong local centers would schedule courses around a planned organization of studies. This happened in very few cases. Even more important in downgrading the scholarship of extension was the introduction into course lists of topics which were not found in university catalogues. (Music offerings grew to such prominence before the turn of the century that a special column promoting them appeared in the *Citizen*. Likewise, there were numerous courses on public health and municipal government, useful and excellent public relations tools, but financial disasters for the sponsoring society.)

In a series of monographs prepared for the American exhibit at the Paris Fair of 1901, Herbert Baxter Adams, who had introduced extension in America identified five reasons for the decline of extension: (1) lack of lecturers; (2) lack of financial support; (3) the vast distances of the United States, which made travelling difficult; (4) "the necessity and greater importance" of work on campus; and (5) the discovery of less expensive means of adult education.[4] Adams' first three points were by no means original; extension leaders had worried about these matters since the early 1890s. His assertion of the greater importance of on-campus duties seems to have been a response to some of extension's overly zealous advocates, who argued that extension courses duplicated university work. His final point was crucial. Free public lectures had become very popular in the late 90s, and public libraries, education clubs, and reading circles provided less formal and cheaper ways for the pursuit of self-culture. Summer schools were prepared to receive the more serious-minded who desired credit. Thus, extension was boxed in on all sides. If it moved too far in the direction of popularity, it ran headlong into free lectures; if it moved in the opposite direction, it competed with correspondence and summer schools. In either case, great lateral movement meant a loss of its distinctive character.

Just as Adams presented the most cogent arguments for the adoption of extension in the 1880s, so his comments in 1900 were the clearest perspective on extension's decline and death. They contrast with those of

[4]Herbert B. Adams, "Summer Schools and University Extension," in Nicholas Murray Butler (Ed.), *Monographs on Education in the United States* (Albany: J. Lyon and Co., 1900).

Lyman P. Powell, who had caught the extension bug from Adams and lectured for several agencies.

In 1901, Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, requested Powell to prepare an article about the first 10 years of extension in the United States. Powell first wrote his mentor, Adams, wondering "how it appears to you at the moment."[5] Powell noted that, in 1891, "some friends thought the milennium was dawning; the civic salvation of democracy seemed to many close at hand. No one was indifferent [to university extension] or could be. . . . There was a glamor about the very thought of itinerant lecturing." Powell traced the decline to the scarcity of lecturers, for "Western university and college presidents came East each spring to lie in wait for postgraduate students newly doctored in Baltimore or Germany." Extension was left with the few men who could not land a college job or who preferred extension to university lecturing.[6] (This explanation fails to note any of the causes Adams had mentioned the previous year.)

In discussing extension's decline, later writers have properly emphasized the attempt to adopt *in toto* the English system. Writing in 1941, James Creese contended that to the leaders of 1890 "it seemed a simple thing" to put the English plan into operation. This assumption was fallacious because extension had been "more rigidly and narrowly defined" in England than in the United States.[7] As a result, Americans tried very hard to adhere to the English pattern, a resolution which was strengthened by the frequent appearances of English visiting lecturers, but which weakened in the face of declining interest in extension. First, Americans dropped examinations, then proceeded to deemphasize outside reading, written exercises, and class work, leaving only the lecture, a favorite American adult education device. After 1900, lectures became individual and popular. No wonder that C. Hartley Grattan concluded that "it was apparent that what Englishmen and Americans called 'university extension' was as different . . . as the birds they both call 'robin'."[8] Abraham Flexner recognized these differences and castigated American universities for allowing their extension programs to become "narrow,

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[5]Lyman P. Powell to Herbert B. Adams, February 22, 1901; February 28, 1901; in Adams Papers, Johns Hopkins University Library.

[6]Lyman P. Powell, "Ten Years of University Extension," *Atlantic Monthly* 88 (September 1901) 393-403.

[7]James Creese, *The Extension of University Teaching* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1941), p. 22.

[8]C. Hartley Grattan, *In Quest of Knowledge* (New York: Association Press, 1955), p. 191.

practical and *ad hoc*," as opposed to the English who dealt with topics of "intellectual and cultural importance."[9]

The history of the American Society between 1900 and 1921 reflected new and old difficulties, and a decline in the quality and quantity of extension work. Local centers continued to vanish, until after 1907 only two remained, Witherspoon Local Center in Philadelphia, which was the Association Local Center under a new name, and Germantown Local Center. Equally significant was the change from connected courses of lectures, replete with outside readings and written exercises, to individual lectures on popular topics, concerts, and dramatic readings.

Rural and small town centers were less prosperous than those near Philadelphia, and when the University of Pennsylvania undertook its own extension program free of charge, the American Society suffered. The University sent its professors on short lecture tours, which Professor J. C. Sims termed "real university extension." Their purpose was not only to educate but to promote the image of the university at a time when rural dwellers favored the more practically-oriented and less aloof Pennsylvania State. In discussing this project, Sims made no reference to possible conflict with local centers of the American Society, although he must have been aware of them.[10]

The decline of the American Society was gradual. In 1901-02, 74 centers remained active and sponsored 95 courses, or 537 lectures, mostly in units of 6 lectures. The Society had four staff lecturers: veterans T. W. Surette, W. Hudson Shaw, and F. H. Sykes; and a newcomer, Cecil F. Lavall.[11] The following year, extension activity included about 150 courses, mostly in the favored area of literature.[12] However, 1903 was a year of financial crisis, as the addresses delivered at the annual meeting made plain. Sykes reported that the central office was ending the year with a deficit of about $1,000, and he appealed to Philadelphia philanthropists once again to come to the rescue. Shaw, less gloomy, proposed a tripartite solution to the difficulties: (1) union with the University of Pennsylvania, with the Society becoming the extension division of the institution; (2) a women's board of directors,

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[9]Abraham Flexner, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 258.

[10]J. C. Sims to Charles C. Harrison [1898] in Archives General, University of Pennsylvania. Harrison, president of the University, was a board member of the American Society.

[11]American Society for the Extension of University Teaching (hereafter ASEUT), *General Announcement for the Year, 1902-1903*, p. 3.

[12]Ibid., pp. 5-20.

in recognition of the service of women; and (3) new efforts to persuade competent staff lecturers to remain in extension work (many had found a professor's chair "more comfortable than a third-class railway coach"[13]). Unfortunately, only the least important of these suggestions was implemented; the society created a women's board, composed chiefly of matrons from the Rittenhouse Square aristocracy. The suggestion of a union with the University of Pennsylvania died, and staff lecturers continued to leave for university positions.

In an attempt to bolster its public image, the Society solicited and published letters of endorsement from prominent citizens and educators. The majority came from persons either presently or formerly active in extension work. William T. Harris, one of the few outsiders, said he believed in "properly managed" extension, but he did not state whether he felt that the Society managed its work properly.[14]

New donations saw the Society through the crisis of 1903. In 1904, two new staff lecturers were employed, and Sykes left to accept the directorship of Columbia University's new extension division. In that year, too, the Society sponsored 171 courses, with music the second most popular subject.[15] Other events of 1904 showed that extension was still far from dead. A special mailing provided members with a summer reading list in preparation for fall courses, and two students' associations still met regularly.[16] Most important, Mr. Joseph Fels offered the Society $50,000 if it would raise four times that amount on its own, and the members were successful in their efforts to achieve this goal. The number of members passed 500, an all-time high, but the membership now included many students as well as financial backers.[17]

The year 1906 was the last in which extension literature refers to centers outside Philadelphia. In that year, there were 46 such centers, down from over 80 in 1900. The Society may have preferred to use its new-found prosperity in courses near the city, or the extension activity of the University of Pennsylvania may have supplanted the small town centers.

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[13] *Addresses Delivered in 1903 at the Annual Meeting of the American Society* . . . (Philadelphia: The Society, 1903), pp. 4-7, 13, 21-24.

[14] *Letters Concerning the Value of the Work of the American Society* . . . (Philadelphia: The Society, 1903), *passim*.

[15] ASEUT, *General Announcement for 1904-1905*, pp. 9-25. This and other flyers for the latter years of the society are deposited at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[16] ASEUT, *Summer Reading, 1904*.

[17] ASEUT, *University Extension Lectures, 1906-1907*, pp. 46-53.

Between 1900 and 1905, there was a decline in six-lecture courses, and an increase in individual lectures and concerts. Only four courses were on the program in 1908, together with eight individual lectures and one concert. Gone were the appurtenances of extension in the 1890s—outside readings, discussions, and written work. The following year, Witherspoon Center arranged six courses and six individual lectures. A new feature indicative of the entertainment ethos which had overcome extension was the availability of both reserved and unreserved seats, and the advertised desirability of seats in the "parquet circle."[18]

Beginning in 1909, poetic and dramatic readings won great popularity. In the winter of 1911, a flyer from the central office informed members of Witherspoon Center that the fall schedule included 13 courses of from 3 to 7 lectures, 8 individual lectures, and 7 readings. A special evening was reserved for J. Alden Loring's illustrated lecture, "Through Africa with Roosevelt." Five dollars admitted one to all events.[19] A summary for 1912-13 reveals that the Society offered an intellectual smorgasbord. From November 1 to May 12, there was scarcely an evening without a scheduled event.[20] Later material indicated that the Society carried on a program similar in size and type to that of the 1912 season.[21]

By 1919, the transition from an educational to an entertainment agency was complete. The war year reinvigorated extension in Philadelphia. Declaring that in wartime extension can aid in creating "a loyal, intelligent public opinion," the American Society announced a program for 1917-18 of 16 short lecture courses, as well as many concerts, individual lectures, and readings. Children of members were invited to Saturday afternoon "Young Members' Courses."[22] In 1919, the board of directors announced that the Society offered "a wise and pleasant use of . . . leisure time through a series of popular lectures." Even in the classes that were organized as a course, each lecture was "distinct and complete." The Society also funded a symphony orchestra to provide "music for the masses."[23] Offerings for the season of 1920-21—20 short lecture courses and 45 individual evening programs, for a fee of $8[24]—indicated that the Society had lost any real connection with the tradition of university extension.

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[18] "Witherspoon Local Center, 1908-09; 1909-10," (Flyers).

[19] "University Extension Lectures, Winter of 1911."

[20] ASEUE, *Condenses, Summary of Principal Events for the Season of 1912/1913*.

[21] ASEUE, "*Flyer*," 1912.

[22] "University Extension Society, Summary of Program, 1917-1918," pp. 3, 5-8, 11.

[23] ASEUE, *Announcements, 1919-1920*.

[24] ASEUE, *Announcements, 1920-1921*.

The following year, the Society merged with the Philadelphia Civic Club, the City Club, and the Academy of Music, to form the Philadelphia Forum. The Forum was "an amplification of the university extension idea adapted to the modern conception of a forum," the directors declared, "seeking to present a well-rounded program of civic interest."[25] After 1900, extension in Philadelphia was a popular form of entertainment, a watered-down type of lecture, a pleasant way to spend leisure time. The social goals had been individualized.

The concept of membership in the American Society changed now. The distinction between students and members which had existed in the 1890s lost its clarity. The members of the Society were now also its students. The last indication of the membership of the Society in about 1910 was 2,000, the highest recorded figure, four times the number of 1895.

Thus, extension in Philadelphia slowly changed in character as audience demand for more popular subjects and individual lectures undermined the very basis of extension as understood in 1891: standard courses of 6 to 12 lectures, with readings, discussions, written exercises, and examination. Neither working-class nor middle-class people accepted extension as constituted, but the middle class had the financial leverage to change extension into an instrument of popular culture. The independence of the Society from any university which might have attempted to uphold standards of scholarship made this task easier. One can truthfully say that extension was "Americanized" in Philadelphia between 1895 and 1920, but in a pattern which was unsuccessful elsewhere. In spite of its ultimate decline, one must agree with the assessment of Richard Price of the extension division of the University of Minnesota, when he said in 1923 that the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching had been "the most successful of the enterprises inaugurated apart from university control."[26]

A deterioration of extension periodicals paralleled the decline of extension work. The American Society had originally printed announcements in *Book News*, a publication of Wanamaker's department store. In July 1891, *University Extension* appeared, providing at first only extension news, but in later years including articles on social and educational issues, and an occasional book review. In 1893, the Society began publication of a second periodical, *University Extension Bulletin*, which emphasized nonextension news. In 1895, the two were merged into the *Citizen*, whose name symbolized the conception of extension prominent at that time—civic

[25] *Philadelphia Forum Magazine*, vols. 1-2, especially 2 (September 1922), 5.

[26] "Address by Richard R. Price," in *Proceedings of the National University Extension Association, 1923*, pp. 3-12.

education for intelligent participation in a democracy. Meanwhile, from 1893 to 1895, the University of Chicago published *University Extension World*, which went out of business because of lack of subscriptions.[27]

From 1895 to 1898, the American extension movement had only the *Citizen* through which to comment on developments within extension circles, as well as on events of the day. The *Citizen* was edited by a large number of men, usually staff lecturers with some free time. This staff established editorial policy, under the supervision of a four-member committee of the board of directors of the American Society. The *Citizen* never prospered, and its continued existence was threatened on several occasions. The editors met these crises by requesting endorsements from respected educators. The difficulty was that the mail brought replies only from men already connected with the movement, such as Edmund James, Charles Harrison, and John B. MacMaster.[28] Meanwhile, changes in the magazine's contents reduced reader interest, as book reviews occupied a continuously increasing percentage of the available space. One possible reason for this development was the willingness of readers to review books without fee.

By August 1898, the financial plight of the *Citizen* was so great that the board of directors suspended publication, even though they were aware that extension courses depended on the magazine to publicize schedules and other information about courses. The directors concluded that staff lecturers were so valuable that it was foolish to have F. H. Sykes waste his time editing a declining periodical when he could be giving courses. They blasted the unwillingness of Philadelphia's citizens to rally to the magazine's support. The final editorial was boastful of the achievements of the Society, declaring it to be "the mother of university extension in this country," and was saddened at the failure of the *Citizen* to obtain its share of subscribers or philanthropic funds.[29]

The disappearance of the last periodical marked a turning point in the history of American extension. The movement had lost its public voice, its means of advertising, its basic channel of communication with society. Subsequently, the local centers faced the problem of isolation from the central office, and there was difficulty in the communication of schedules.

The decline of the extension division of the University of Chicago parallels in time that of the American Society, but is different in most other respects.

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[27] *Citizen* 1 (October 1895), 193.

[28] Ibid. 4 (August 1898), 127.

[29] Ibid., 123-126.

The Chicago system incorporated extension on the English model into the lecture study department, originally one of several parts of the extension division. By 1900, only lecture study and correspondence study survived.

The lecture study division prospered under its secretary, Walter A. Payne. Centers increased from 110 in 1900, to 146 in 1902; courses from 139 to 208; and total attendance from 32,000 to 43,000. There were 106 travelling libraries which circulated over 5,000 volumes throughout the Middle West. Richard Moulton and Charles Zueblin were the most popular extension lecturers, each presenting over 200 courses by 1903.[30]

Still, the dissatisfaction with their salary and their relationship to the main body of the university expressed by extension faculty in the 1890s continued. Richard Moulton requested a quarter's vacation to lecture for the American Society, expecting to earn much money in the process. James refused the request, stating that it would be a serious embarrassment to the university to lose Moulton's services during the extension term.[31] Charles Zueblin disliked his life of "six month on the wing" and requested Harper to grant him more time on campus, a request which the president refused.[32] In 1902, Edmund J. James resigned the directorship of the extension division to accept the presidency of Northwestern University, and Harper appointed no successor, allowing the secretary of each department to run his own agency, with responsibility only to the university president. Not only had the extension division lost its director, but by 1904 its two most active and successful lecturers were unhappy in their work.

Between 1905 and 1908, in the lecture study department annual attendance ranged from 52,000 to 58,000, courses from 188 to 197, and local centers from 129 to 152. Payne noted the continual problem of scarcity of trained lecturers, and urged the university to prepare a program to insure the continuance of the lecture study department. The principal developments of these years were the growth of interest in sociology courses, whose total passed literature in 1907, and a "zone system" of fees, originated in 1905, according to which charges for lectures depended on distance from Chicago.[33]

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[30] *The President's Report of the University of Chicago, 1902-1904* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), pp. 163-173. (Hereinafter abbreviated, *PR*.)

[31] Edmund J. James to William R. Harper, February 15, 1901, in Presidents' Papers, University of Chicago Archives.

[32] Charles Zueblin to Harper, August 25, 1904; Harper to Zueblin, October 4, 1904.

[33] *PR, 1905-06*, pp. 81-91; *1906-07*, pp. 73-80; *1907-08*, pp. 107-110.

The collapse between 1908 and 1911 resulted from the failure to retain contented extension faculty. During 1908-09, both courses and total attendance slipped nearly 50 percent from the previous year's totals. Payne believed that this was "due wholly to lack of competent lecturers," and he emphasized the departure of Zueblin.[34] In 1907, Zueblin had told the new president, Harry P. Judson, that, "I can make more (and have done so) as an independent lecturer"; but the university was unable to raise his salary, as doing so would necessitate the raising of fees to local centers, an unthinkable action.[35]

In 1909-10, the number of centers fell from 111 to 73, the number of courses from 125 to 97. Again, Payne was ready with analysis and solution. The resignation of Jerome H. Raymond was a serious blow to the lecture study department, and a serious illness had kept Moulton off the platform for much of the year. Payne argued that the university should consider dropping all local centers not in Chicago or its suburbs.[36] At no point in the 20th century had more than 15 percent of the local centers been in Chicago. To base a plan of retrenchment on the weakest point in the system was a blueprint for disaster, which indeed came at the end of the 1910-11 academic year. That year, only 51 centers were active, and attendance bottomed out at 22,000. Even Payne saw the handwriting on the wall and urged the university to transform lecture study into a plan for "popular adult education in Chicago," a suggestion which was never implemented. Extension on the English model had ended; only correspondence study remained.[37]

Several aspects of the decline of extension at the University of Chicago stand out. First, the program retained a strong commitment to scholarship, as manifested in the characteristics of the English extension system—lectures, reading, and written work. Music courses, individual lectures, and concerts were not a part of the program, and this seems attributable both to the influence of the university faculty and to the absence of a music department in the university. An incident in 1908 illustrates that not anything would suffice for the granting of extension university credit. When Richard Moulton proposed that students earn credit for taking part in the celebration of the tricentennial of John Milton, President Judson retorted: "We ought to get away from the idea that every bit of intellectual activity must be paid for in college credit."[38]

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[34] *PR, 1908-09*, pp. 104-105.

[35] Zueblin to Harry P. Judson, January 15, 1907; Walter A. Payne to Zueblin, January 16, 1907.

[36] *PR, 1909-10*, pp. 99-101.

[37] *PR, 1910-11*, pp. 105-114.

[38] Richard Moulton to Judson, October 6, 1908; Judson to Moulton, October 7, 1908.

Second, what undermined extension at Chicago was not popularization but failure to retain a corps of competent lecturers and to work out mutually supportive relationships between the university and its extension division. The university never acted on Payne's repeated requests to provide special training for potential lecturers. This accounts for the different declines which extension suffered in Philadelphia and Chicago. In Philadelphia, although there was a dilution of the English system, there was also a sufficient number of lecturers to carry on. At Chicago, extension did not lose its scholarly nature, but suffered when several of the most effective lecturers resigned. The grand plans Harper proposed for the extension division in 1891 were, by 1916, regarded as so unimportant that Thomas W. Goodspeed's history of the first 25 years of the university devoted almost no space to the extension division.[39]

The decline of extension in Chicago and Philadelphia presents an interesting historical paradox. If adult education was left in the hands of university professors, as at Chicago, it was dependent on their willingness to teach and their happiness with the salary and working conditions. If it was controlled by the audience, as in Philadelphia, it was subject to audience whims and fancies in subject matter and degree of gravity.

Although university extension on the English model was all but dead in the United States by 1912, the 20-year experiment had not been a total loss. It had provided lectures to over 2 million people, some of them the laboring poor. It had kept the universities in contact with the people at a time when they could have evolved into an intellectual aristocracy based on research. In spite of these accomplishments, extension needed a reorientation if it was to be a long-lasting success. That reorientation took place in the state universities, which revivified the concept of extension after 1910.

In the 1890s, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Rutgers developed the most successful extension programs, but in none of these institutions did extension achieve great popularity. Most of them, with land grant status, were involved in agricultural extension. Extension on the English model did not seem relevant.

The University of Wisconsin was the first institution to revitalize its extension division. In the 1890s, the program owed much to the enthusiasm of Adams and several of his students, and in the later stages to the training influence provided by the University of Chicago. Then, in 1903, Charles Van Hise was inaugurated as president of the university. Although he had refused to teach an extension geology course in the 1890s, Van Hise felt a

[39]Thomas W. Goodspeed, *A History of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), pp. 150-153.

deep commitment to strengthen the bonds between the university and the people of the state.

In 1906, the university selected Louis Reber director of the new extension division. Reber's biography is strikingly different from those of the men who guided the early extension programs. He was born in 1858 in Pennsylvania, and graduated from both Pennsylvania State and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, schools devoted to a more scientific and vocational view of the college curriculum than was common in the late 19th century. Reber was teaching at Penn State when Wisconsin called him to the directorship. Unlike other extension leaders—James, Raymond, Devine, Payne, and Sykes—he had not been associated with either the American Society or the University of Chicago.

With the $20,000 provided annually by the state legislature, Reber produced a program heavily weighted toward business and engineering courses, a program which drew support from the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association. Only a small percentage of the extension courses were in "cultural" areas.[40] The rigid English system was demolished, as the number of lectures, outside readings, and written work became optional. The emphasis shifted from scholarship to service. The goal was no longer to approximate university work in an off-campus setting—although Reber did not deny the desirability of this goal—but to orient the extension curriculum to the needs of the state and its citizens. Extension no longer implied a professor, a podium, and students; it could mean a professor drawing up a model city charter, or testing chemicals to aid wheat production. More than the extension programs of the 1890s, it emphasized the role of the university in distributing the benefits of modern science. It was the "broker" university, paralleling the "broker" state of the Progressives.

This kind of extension became the "darling of the reformers." The close association which developed between the university under Van Hise and the state administration under Governor Robert La Follette made Wisconsin a model for the nation, and the "Wisconsin idea" a goal for other states to emulate. University professors were urged to seek solutions to the state's problems. Of course, this led to opposition from a variety of sources: professors who did not enjoy extension work, or who objected to the lack of cultural content in the program, and citizens who opposed professorial

[40]Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 2, pp. 561-562. Chronology of Extension Division of the University, in Box 1, Chester Allen Papers, University of Wisconsin Archives.

interference in their affairs.[41] The program suffered as much from its identification with Progressivism as it gained in publicity from it.

An interesting meeting between the old and new extension movements took place in 1913, when a group from the City Club of Philadelphia made a "pilgrimage" to Madison to observe the Wisconsin idea in operation, and to determine if it was applicable in Philadelphia. The pilgrims included educational officials, club women, businessmen, and social workers, led by Martin G. Brumbaugh, Philadelphia's school superintendant, the solitary graduate of the American Society's extension seminary, and former staff lecturer for the Society. This group of "Progressives" spent several days examining the various projects of the extension division before concluding that Philadelphia was more active in this field than was Wisconsin. Nowhere in the accounts of this event does anyone mention the American Society, which was still active in Philadelphia.[42]

The new extension, as developed at Wisconsin after 1906, owed no debt to England and used no Englishmen as lecturers. Its leadership came out of the American land grant and scientific school tradition, rather than German or American graduate institutions. Extension included just about any off-campus activity by which a professor provided service to the public. It retained formal course work but changed the content of the work from cultural to practical and vocational.

Between 1900 and 1915, 22 institutions established or made over extension departments on the Wisconsin model; 17 of these were state universities. At Minnesota, the extension division developed over the opposition of important segments of the academic community. To offset the protests of some members of the senior faculty, President George Vincent, son of Bishop John Vincent of Chautauqua, selected Richard Price, "clothed in the immaculate respectability of his Harvard degree in classics" to head the division. James Gray concluded that the chief obstacle to development of extension at Minnesota was the snobbishness of the university, but this was soon overcome.[43] At the University of North Carolina, the extension division grew out of attempts to provide training for teachers and librarians.[44]

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[41]F. M. Rosentreter, *The Boundaries of the Campus* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), pp. 47-56.

[42]Ibid., pp. 175-176; James S. Hiatt, "The Philadelphia Pilgrimage and the Wisconsin Idea," *American School Board Journal* 48 (July 1913), 26, 28-29, 32.

[43]James Gray, *The University of Minnesota, 1851-1951* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), pp. 208-211.

[44]Louis R. Wilson, *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), pp. 203-205.

A national Conference on University Extension convened in Madison, Wisconsin, on March 10, 1915. It was as national as the conference which the American Society had held in Philadelphia a quarter century earlier, but the audience was different in style. The majority of the delegates at Madison were administrators of extension divisions, together with a few professors. Gone were the representatives of other adult education institutions, as well as the interested laymen. This was a conference of professionals bent upon the formation of a national extension society.

Van Hise keynoted the opening session with an emphasis upon service, arguing that cultural and vocational education, as well as university research, must be directed toward carrying knowledge to the people. He reviewed the history of American extension, terming its early strength "largely ephemeral," and then narrated the history of Wisconsin and other universities, concluding that "the new movement . . . is on a sounder and broader basis than heretofore." To Van Hise, extension meant five things: (1) lyceum extension, or the work done by the American Society and the lecture study division of the University of Chicago; (2) correspondence courses; (3) regular university classes off-campus; (4) agricultural extension; and (5) general service to society. Under the last category is the broadened conception of extension, for by it Van Hise meant such things as municipal and legislative reference bureaus, educational exhibits, and the gathering of experts for the solution of social problems. Van Hise expressed the theme of service. "This then is the purpose of university extension—to carry light and opportunity to every person in all parts of the nation; this is the only adequate idea of service for the university."[45]

If Van Hise represented the future at the conference, Richard Moulton and Nathaniel Butler represented the past. Butler warned of overconfidence, recalling that in 1890 "the American public . . . seemed possessed by the idea that in the university extension lecture we had at last, and in very truth, discovered a royal road to culture, broad and smooth and delightful to travel." Moulton was obviously concerned about the vocational conception of the new extension. Just as he had fought against an overly technical extension in England in 1890, so he fought it now, entitling his address, "The Humanities in University Extension."[46]

The convention of 1915 succeeded in organizing a society whose membership was composed of the extension divisions of universities and colleges. The new organization represented the victory of the service conception of extension over the English model.

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[45] *Proceedings of the First National Conference on University Extension at Madison, Wisconsin, March 10-12, 1915* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), pp. 11-14.

[46] Ibid., pp. 251-258.

Extension in this form has significantly influenced American educational society and history from 1915 to the present. It was different things to different people. To some lecturers, it was a vocational outlet for those dissatisfied with a college chair. To others, it was a means to acquire a reputation and subsequently a professorship. All lecturers were subject to the pressures of increasing professionalization and each had to find his own way to reconcile the demands made on his time by on-campus duties, research, publication, professional meetings, and extension courses.

Was extension a middle class attempt to control the social chaos resulting from industrialization and urbanization? This conclusion is inescapable in light of the work of extension agencies through settlements, classes arranged for laborers, and courses in civics for immigrants. *Control* is the best word to describe this process, for extension lecturers sought to provide people with information about how society functioned, and then to allow them to use this information to control the turbulence. To see extension as a repressive measure is to put too much faith in the coercive power of adult education. Extension courses certainly responded to the fear of class warfare that was so common in the 1890s, but the response was not in troops but in teaching, not in bullets but in books. Finally, the view of extension as a means of repressing the laborer, or even as a way of blunting potential class violence, fails to take into account that the overwhelming majority of extension students were middle class.

What did extension mean to middle class students? To some it was a status-oriented search for culture. This was especially true in the case of the large numbers of women who filled lecture halls in the afternoons. They had not had the opportunity of a college education, due to either financial difficulties, early marriage, or the scarcity of women's colleges. Now they seized the chance to learn those things which middle class women were expected to know, such as history and the fine arts. For others of the middle class, extension was not such a serious matter. For many it was cultural entertainment rather than serious study—a pleasurable way to use leisure time. In general, the middle class commitment to extension was lasting but not serious.

For poorer people, there were different reasons for attending lectures. A few took the courses seriously but their numbers were always small, due to the failure of most extension agencies to grant university credit for work done. Other poor people may have viewed extension as an evening's escape from the tenement, and, thus, well worth the cost.

What effects did extension have on the burgeoning universities? George Palmer predicted that extension would starve college staffs by drawing off badly needed teaching talent. Such did not prove to be the case. If we had reliable statistics which showed the ratio between the number of college

teaching positions and qualified applicants, we would be in a better position to assess the effect on the faculties. In other areas of university life, extension had deeper effects.

It was no coincidence that extension appeared at the same time as the modern American university, and that extension's leaders were also shapers of the university. Extension was both a part of the university idea and in conflict with it. It was a part of it in the sense that university leaders recognized their responsibility to society and did not favor university isolation or "ivory towerism." However, extension required faculty time, and budget money that could as easily be used for the laboratory or the library. Extension did express the universities' commitment to social involvement, but the English system did not prove practical, which accounts for its demise and the reorientation of extension after 1910.

Why did the English system and its agencies fail? There was a variety of reasons, including weak financial backing, scarcity of lecturers, failure to create a sustained interest in extension, and increasing on-campus and professional responsibilities of the professoriat. Furthermore, the early leaders of American extension, although dedicated and persistent, were not innovative or creative. They clung to the English system, even after 1910 when it had generally faded out of existence. Men like Louis Reber and Richard Price, who were willing to try new ideas and programs, successfully reoriented university extension.

Finally, how did university extension fit into the history of American adult education? At the outset it drew clear distinctions between itself and the lyceum and Chautauqua, seeing itself as more scholarly, better organized, and less religious. It attempted to transform the device of the popular lecture into a means of serious adult education. There was, of course, much backsliding from the level of the early years as extension's popularity waned, but extension served a useful role in clarifying the position of adult education, of separating it from the metaphor of the educational ladder which then dominated American education. In developing the concept of education as leisure-time activity, it created an idea whose importance seems certain to grow in the immediate future.

Writing about university extension in 1891, Melvil Dewey predicted that "the historian of a century later will probably record that in the last two decades of the 19th century was developed that new system which marks an era in the history of higher education."[47] Although a century has not passed, it is a safe judgment that Dewey's forecast was overly optimistic.

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[47] Melvil Dewey, "New York's Part in University Extension," *Critic* 16 (August 22, 1891), 90-99.

The import of extension in the 1880s, its development in the 1890s, and its reorientation after 1905, do not appear as epic events in the history of American higher education. But they do remind the late 20th-century American of the usefulness, the problems, and the dangers of university involvement in society.

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